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"TRUTH, JUSTICE AND HONOR."

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PAPERS

READ BEFORE THE

Association

FOR THE

Advancement of Women.

18th Women's Congress.

TORONTO, CAN., OCTOBER, 1890.

JULIA WARD HOWE, President.

FALL RIVER, MASS.:

J. H. FRANKLIN & Co., PUBLISHERS AND PRINTERS.

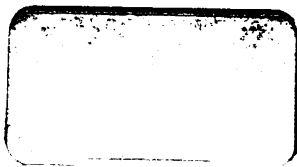
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OPENING ADDRESS.

BY THE PRESIDENT, MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE.

THAT sweet saint of English History; Mrs. Elizabeth Barrett Browning, in one of her poems, exclaims:

“I am no trumpet, but a reed!”

I have often thought with sympathy of this word of hers. Great soul that she was with the deepest sense of the world's wrongs and the most valient mind to rectify them, she would have been glad to have twelve legions of angels to the rescue of her beloved humanity. No trumpet had she with which to summon them, only the little instrument born with her and laid by Nature in her cradle, the poet's reed. But who can say what power its music exerted even in the fighting world? Like the secret once whispered to the rushes, which the rushes presently told to the Wind, and the Wind to all the world, so this sweet singer's brave strophes, whispered by her in burning meditation, survive the clarion blast of world victories and enrich us today with the heart of her courage and the fire of her zeal.

I have borrowed this word to introduce here the appearance of a little band of women-workers who have stood side by side for more than three lusters of years, in an endeavor to bring their sex into its true place in the advance of the race. Ours is only one among many groups so banded together, but as it has gone far and wide over the country, it has aroused many another into being and activity. We are women seeking to promote the advancement of women, not in the objects of personal ambition, not in any inharmonious rivalry with men, but in the understanding and fulfilment of womanly duty and in the recognition of all that this involves.

The Indian woman, in the march of the tribe carries the tent furniture and the household appliances. Our chieftains do not load us after this primitive fashion, but symbolically, we do carry much of the

heavy baggage of human society. Besides the care of hearth and home, ours is the tedious and difficult task of initiating the infant man in his earliest human offices. The nursery is the primary school of the race, and in the great advance of the world's wisdom, it is becoming evident that no gift is too costly, no talent too rare to devote to the precious years of infancy, and to the lessons and training which fit that lovely blossom period of life.

We women, to whom these cares especially belong, must advance as the world advances, must learn its newest lessons and its widest wisdom, else we shall hang as a dead weight upon the victorious march of our husbands and brothers. Worse than this we shall keep back our precious pupils; they will share our ignorance, our prejudice, our superstition. The way of humanity is onward; sad and bitter were it if the women, mothers and teachers of men, should lag behind.

The advance which our sex has made within the last twenty years is well attested by facts and in general well known in the community. A strong impelling force has carried them forward. If we could analyze this, we should find, I think, that women have only latterly begun to apply to their own case the conditions of freedom which a free government establishes. It is but lately that they have learned that the logical sequence of freedom for men is freedom for their wives, mothers and daughters. Mrs. Adams, wife of the President of that name, said as much as this, years ago, in a well-known letter to her husband, but women in general paid little heed to her remark. It takes a long time for a new idea to permeate the social atmosphere even of the most enlightened nations. This one has at last made its way and is becoming established.

Another element of the onward impulsion just spoken of is found in the growing conviction of the best and wisest men that the intelligent and trained help of women is needed in every department of the body politic. How important their social and sympathetic aid has always been need not be said. But as the race rises to a higher moral and intellectual efficiency, new energies are called for and new tasks appointed. In the Christian Palace of Industry, as in the doctrine that founds it, there is neither male or female, so far as concerns conscience and opportunity. All must labor with the brains as well as with the hands. Men and women alike must press forward to fulfill the high calling of God.

But this advance in which we all rejoice needs leadership, not so much of personal influence, as of just principles and careful study.

We who meet together in this Congress from year to year do not claim to be better or wiser than others. All that we can lay claim to is a deep concern for the well-being and well-doing of the community, of our own sex as a part of it. The parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins has not been lost upon us, and our most earnest wish is that when occasions come, the women of Christendom shall not be found sleeping, their lamps unprovided with the light of wisdom, their minds unclothed with the habit called for by the hour.

We meet indeed but once in a year, and a three day's comparison of thought, study and experience may not seem a very sufficient preparation for the good to be done, the evil to be undone, in the world about us. But human life is in a degree ruled by centers, and our Association supplies one of them, a central point of interest and affection whose influence goes with us wherever we go and has its part in much that we do and attempt. The device upon our shield is Truth, Justice and Honor, and while we follow these high watchwords in the battle of life we strive to remember, one and all, that the greatest thing on earth is Charity.

We come to you, dear Canadian friends, called by a generous invitation. We are glad to be made aware that, while governments must define and keep their boundaries, the sympathy of those who follow good objects may cross the frontier, and still find itself at home. Although our time of sojourn among you is short, we shall hope to derive valuable instruction from our intercourse with you, and shall hope, most of all, that this visit of ours may be helpful in promoting a better mutual acquaintance and fellowship between the women of the Dominion and their sisters of the States.

Let this thought then be the ruling one in these meetings in which you will assist us by your presence and kind attention, the thought of union among women throughout the world for the promotion and vindication of all that woman should stand for in the interest of human society.

With these words, I declare the Eighteenth Congress of Women to be open.

LIFE AND WORK OF MARIA MITCHELL., *L. L. D.*

BY PROF. MARY W. WHITNEY.

I HAVE been asked by the Society for the Advancement of Women to write of the life and work of Maria Mitchell, herself for two years president of this society, and always its sympathetic supporter. As a woman of public spirit and enterprise she was known better, perhaps, to some of you than to me. Her interest in the organization and development of this society is known to you, and her hearty co-operation in all purposes and plans bearing the mark of progress of the spirit of free thought. As a member of this society I cannot so well speak of her as another might, but as a woman of great power and influence, as a teacher, as a lover of science and an inspirer of the scientific spirit, I have had abundant opportunity to know her.

Maria Mitchell was born in Nantucket, on August 1, 1818. Nantucket, a small island off the southeast coast of Massachusetts, was at this time a flourishing whaling town, and it was also a Quaker town. Both these facts told on the character of its people, making them simple of heart and sturdy of character, and it told pre-eminently upon the women. In a sea-faring community the wives were necessarily thrown more upon their own resources, since their natural supporters were away from home, often for years, upon their whaling voyages. The cares and responsibilities usually borne by the men thus fell upon the shoulders of the women; and with responsibility come force and independence of character. And that it was a Quaker community would tell also upon the tendencies of the women, since in a Quaker society the women were granted much freedom of action. They were supposed to hold opinions of their own and to express them in public, even to vote in church matters. They were compelled to dress and live simply, and therefore did not pour out their energies in the adornment of house and person. They were a sensible and a

strong community, from whence went out many an able man and woman who became powers in the land. Both of Miss Mitchell's parents were of old Quaker families, her mother, Lydia Colman, claiming descent from one of the original settlers of Nantucket. The story is, that the first white men who set foot upon Nantucket were three Quakers, fleeing from persecution in New England, and that one of these was a young man named Colman. Miss Mitchell's mother was also related, through her grandmother, to Benjamin Franklin. She was a woman of fine intelligence and of literary tastes, fond of the best books, and was a large reader, though the mother of many children and thoroughly devoted to them. Her father, William Mitchell, was the son of a cooper, and began his business life in his father's employ. His more intellectual tastes, however, soon brought him into the teacher's profession. Later in life he became cashier in the principal bank of Nantucket. His natural inclination was toward scientific reading and pursuits. He early began to study astronomy and to gather about him the appliances for astronomical observations. Science was little cultivated in those days, and held a subordinate place in education, but the U. S. Coast Survey was already well established, and was conducted by the foremost mathematical and astronomical talent which the country afforded. It made use of local proficiency wherever it presented itself, and when Mr. Mitchell's ability became known to its officers, he was appointed to make the observations and investigations necessary for the survey of the island of Nantucket. His work did not take the place of his teaching, it occupied his evenings and his leisure hours.

Miss Mitchell was the third child of a family of nine. As a little child she did not display especial powers, and in fact was much below her elder sister in those qualities of quickness and aptness which make the child of three or four years the marvel of its parents and friends. But this second daughter soon began to show a talent for study and reading. She took eagerly to arithmetic and to all studies of a scientific nature. She was always of a serious bent and zealous and earnest with her books. Very early she began to take a sympathetic interest in her father's astronomical work, and when eleven years old began to assist him. She was a ready computer, and even before she was sufficiently advanced to understand the processes by which the formulæ of the famous Bowditch navigator were obtained, she applied them with ease and promptness to her father's investigations. She was so eager in this work that she learned to love these

formulæ while yet they were mysteries to her. She spoke frequently in after years and with the greatest tenderness of these early offices for her father. They were the beginnings of her intellectual life; they were the openings of her long service to science, and they were services of love. Her relations to her father were always of the warmest and most sympathetic nature. In temperament she was probably more like her mother, certainly she was unlike her father. He was marked by the gentler tendencies of human nature; he was mild in assertion and persuasive in manner. In his later years when I knew him he was the type of the fine old Quaker gentleman with all those gentler and quieter qualities which we associate with that peace loving sect. She was marked by the stronger and firmer tendencies. She was vigorous and incisive. It was a beautiful sight for the young people at Vassar College to behold during the last years of Mr. Mitchell's life the tender and fully sympathetic relation existing between the father and daughter, so unlike in characteristics, yet so devoted and harmonious in their life together.

At eleven years of age she began to act as her father's assistant in his observatory, and early in her teens herself made observations upon the altitudes of the heavenly bodies for time and latitude. Thus early she formed those hardy habits which she maintained through her life, and which contributed not a little to her unusual physical vigor. She was exposed in all weathers, and until the last years of her life, was held in check by neither heat nor cold.

Mr. Mitchell's children were given the best educational training that the Nantucket town supplied. The schools in that enterprising community were substantial and thorough if not advanced, and Miss Mitchell obtained a well built foundation. She attended her father's school, and was afterwards a pupil of Cyrus Pierce, since well known in New England as a leading educator, and called in his later years Father Pierce, because of the honor and love in which he was held. He discovered her unusual mathematical powers and encouraged their development. He gave her special instruction beyond that required by the other members of her class. Few young women studied the classics in those days, and Maria's school instructions included no study of the foreign languages. But in after years she secured through her own efforts, and a little private instruction, a reading knowledge of German and French, and became more or less acquainted with the standard Latin authors through her own translation of

them. Although her tastes were mainly scientific, she had great respect for the literary culture which language study pre-supposes.

Her interest in mathematics dated from her early services to her father, and as her mathematical knowledge increased, her assistance in his work became more and more valuable. She soon began to see the true practical significance of the mathematical symbols which in themselves, in their many and marvelous combinations and transmutations had charmed her youthful intellect, and her ambition grew to enter into those vast fields of mathematical research which the genius of Newton, Laplace and Gauss had opened to human thought. While she was gaining her first mental glimpses of these grand and fruitful relations of thought, she was night after night following with her bodily eye the motions of planets and stars, and realizing, as she could not otherwise have done, how this great instrument of human thought, this system of mathematical symbolism rested both for its invention and its improvement upon the revelations of the visible universe. She used to say to her students in Vassar College that mathematics and poetry were not so far asunder as ordinary opinion placed them, that the mathematical formula was an expression of eternal truth, "a hymn of the universe," since it conveyed to the mind which rightly interpreted it, the order of law, the flow of time and the sweep of worlds. If the simplest expression of eternal relations is poetry, then indeed Maria Mitchell's assertion is true.

Her early studies with Father Pierce revealed to her these attractive vistas of mathematical research; but as yet she saw them only in the distance. Her father, scholar though he was, could not lead her here, and Father Pierce could not lead her. Her own persistent ambition was to be her guide when the opportunity came, and it came in this wise. When Miss Mitchell was about eighteen years old the position of librarian in the Athenæum (library) of Nantucket became vacant. The make up of this library, as well as its existence in those early days, bore witness to the unusual intellectual quality of this Quaker town. Though comparatively small, it was very well selected, containing the best books of the best authors, and its scientific shelves were remarkably well filled. Maria Mitchell was appointed to the librarianship, and held the position for twenty years. Nothing could have been just at this time more to her mind. It afforded her an income, very small at first to be sure, and never more than a few hundred dollars, but sufficient to meet her simple needs, and it secured the time and the means for the pursuit of her favorite studies. The

library supplied many of the treatises, mathematical and scientific, which her advanced reading now required, and the quiet and retirement of the library hall gave her most suitable opportunity for the profound study which the reading of them demanded. The library was open during afternoons and on certain evenings of the week, but except on these evenings the duty of her position required little more than her presence in the room, and the studious quiet of this room was but rarely invaded by applicants for books. Now began her acquaintance with the great leaders of astronomical investigation, with Laplace, Lagrange and Gauss. She had observed many comets already. She knew their physical aspects and how to trace their change of place among the stars. Now she learned the laws which govern their motion through space, upon which all apparent position must depend. While she followed the path of a newly discovered comet among the stars with the telescope, she was gaining proficiency by her reading in the far more difficult task of determining from these observations what is the character of its orbit, where it has been in the past and where it will be in the future. Her free evenings were devoted to astronomical observations. When her father was appointed cashier of the Pacific Bank, the family moved to the capacious building adjoining the bank, and upon the flat roof of this building, still heading the Main street of Nantucket, Miss Mitchell's telescope was stationed. She obtained the positions of several comets discovered by others, and computed their orbits; she found several comets herself, that is, she observed them herself before their previous discovery was known to her. From an individual point of view she was as deserving of credit and reputation for the discovery of these as for the discovery of that one which afterward brought her to distinction.

In 1847, this event took place. She was "sweeping" for comets, as the phrase is, on one October evening, and ran across a nebulous body unknown to her and uncatalogued, which might be a comet or a new nebula. The next evening when she again turned her telescope upon this body, it had changed its place among the stars. This declared it to be a comet. Miss Mitchell announced this new appearance to her father, and he communicated it to the president of Harvard College, then Edward Everett. Her father was at this time one of the Harvard overseers. In this case there was no prior discoverer either in Europe or America, and the honor of discovery fell upon the young woman in Nantucket. She determined the orbit of this comet from her own observations, and communicated a memoir upon it to the

Smithsonian Institute. During the early part of the century there had been a fresh access of interest in comets among astronomers, arising from the progress in their theoretical treatment made by Laplace and Gauss. Even royalty shared in this fresh movement. The King of Denmark offered gold medals to all discoverers of comets, and did not limit his promise to the Danes, although his object in offering the prize was to rouse his own subjects to a greater astronomical zeal, and thereby to add to the scientific reputation of Denmark. But here was a young Quaker woman in remote America who was unquestioned claimant for the distinction conveyed in the conferring of the medal, and so across the ocean came the medal. It was sufficient honor to be the original discoverer of a comet. This alone would have made Maria Mitchell's name known to the scientific world. That it was a woman who had done this almost unprecedented thing would have extended still farther the public knowledge of the discovery. But that this quiet Quakeress should receive such a distinction from the hands of the Danish King, gave the event a peculiar interest, and called attention to it from quarters which otherwise would have given it but a passing notice.

The quiet Quakeress, however, continued "the quiet Quakeress" still. She cared little for distinction except as it offered wider opportunities. And wider opportunities speedily followed the discovery. She had hitherto worked with small telescopes and inferior equipment. Now an excellent telescope was presented her by appreciative friends. It was mounted not far from her house on firm foundations, and was supplied with good apparatus. Her observations could now be extended. She began work upon double stars, and carried to fuller detail her study of the physical characteristics of the planets, a favorite study throughout her life. She became acquainted with the leading astronomers and mathematicians of America, and was appointed a computer for the Nautical Almanac. The tables of Venus were assigned to her, whether by chance or intention I do not know. Venus, as we know, is the only planet (excepting always the asteroids) graced with a woman's name. She was a ready and accurate computer, and this work upon the American Ephemeris and Almanac required mathematical training as well as ready computing ability. The salary was an acceptable increase to her income, and considerably exceeded her salary as librarian. She was employed by Dr. Bache of the Coast Survey to make in conjunction with her father the necessary observations for the mensuration of the arc between Nan-

tucket and Portland. In the accomplishment of this end, she accompanied Dr. Bache himself to the northern extremity of this arc and spent sometime in camp life while carrying on the work of the survey.

She was elected member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and was the only woman member; and upon the nomination of Prof. Agassiz she was made one of the early members of the American Association for the Promotion of Science.

She began now to lay aside a fund for travel. It had long been a cherished hope with her that she might some day visit the old world. An unlooked for opportunity presented itself for the accomplishment of this purpose before her private fund had attained the necessary dimensions. A rich merchant from the West, requested her to take charge of his daughter for an extended tour through the South and in Europe, and he offered generous remuneration for the assumption of this care. She accepted it, and travelled quite extensively in the South before sailing for Europe. Naturally her interest abroad centered in the observatories. She carried letters of introduction to the leaders of science in Europe. Sir George Airy, astronomer royal at Greenwich gave her a most cordial welcome, and she became a friend of his family. She spent several days at the famous Flamsteed House, the home of the Astronomer Royal since the establishment of the Greenwich observatory. Prof. Airy was much impressed by this vigorous womanly woman from the new world across the sea, and his wife and daughters shared his appreciation of her. A more or less regular correspondence was maintained with the Airy family after this visit. The family of Sir John Herschel became also her friends. She spent several days at his home, then bright with young sons and daughters. Sir John's "Elements of Astronomy" was about to be republished, and he talked with her about his proposed revisions. She found him a charming man among his children. An article published shortly before her death in "The Century" gives a delightful picture of the Herschel family as she learned to know them during this visit. She visited the leading astronomical centres in Great Britain before going to the continent.

Before leaving England she was forced to fall back upon her own travelling resources, as the Western merchant, whose daughter had been under her care, suddenly lost his fortune. The young woman was sent back to America in safe hands, and Miss Mitchell left England alone. In Paris she met the Hawthornes, and travelled with them to Rome. Leverrier, the great French mathematician and

astronomer, joint discoverer with Adams of the planet Neptune, was then in his prime. A reception in honor of Miss Mitchell was given at his house. Here she met the leading savants of France. From Paris she travelled through Germany. She met there Humboldt and discussed science with him in his own library. One of her students in later years gave her an engraving of Humboldt sitting in this room with his weighted shelves around him. She spent the winter in Rome enjoying to the full the freedom and delights of a sojourner's life in that city. She saw and knew the poets and artists and scientists who were gathered there. Her unusual reputation as a woman astronomer gained her admittance to an observatory under Catholic control, into which a woman had never before entered. It was the observatory, I believe, (though of this I am not sure) which afterwards was made famous by the excellent work of Father Lecchi, who became a leading authority upon the study of the sun. The president of this Association published several years ago a sketch of Miss Mitchell, which contains many interesting extracts from her letters during this European journey.

This year abroad, so full of rich experiences, was to be followed by the first serious sorrow in Miss Mitchell's life. Her mother's strength had been failing for some years, and about the time of Miss Mitchell's return, the disease thus slowly sapping her vitality, was recognized to be of a fatal character. For three years she lingered in weakness and pain. Miss Mitchell resumed her post at the Athenæum library, and to some extent her astronomical work, but every hour at her command was devoted to her mother. They were sad and exhausting years with no hope to lighten the ever increasing weight of sorrow.

The death of Mrs. Mitchell broke up the home at Nantucket. The daughters and sons of the family had married before the European trip. Mr. Mitchell was now about seventy years old. He resigned his cashiership at the Pacific Bank, and was ready to go with his daughter to another home. It was decided that this new home should be in Lynn, Massachusetts, where the youngest daughter was now living. A suitable cottage was purchased, with sufficient ground about it for the erection of a small observatory. There the telescope was again put up and the astronomical work, pursued with a faint and weary heart during the mother's illness, was now resumed with greater regularity. The dark shadow gradually drew away and the delight of work came back to her. And now there was young life about her. There were neices who made Aunt Maria's house a second home.

Daily they were with her, and her life grew fresh and joyous again. Her love of children was deep and tender. To them the real sweetness and gentleness of her nature at once revealed itself. To older persons she was sometimes brusque of manner and apparently harsh of speech, because in her attitude toward them, her hatred of conventionalities and her almost exaggerated desire to be truthful might overcome her natural kindliness. There were many gay parties for the young people in the little cottage at Lynn. They were happy and merry parties, but they cost little money. Miss Mitchell was a true Quaker in the simplicity of her habits. She cared not for externals, and would spend no money that was not already in hand. These were the years of the war, and the income of the father and daughter was a limited one. But the economy of this household was of the truest kind. The essentials were recognized as essentials, and were secured. The unessentials were set aside without regret. "Plain living and high thinking" were never better exemplified than in their life together in the Lynn cottage.

Just as the civil war closed, Vassar College began its work for the education of young women. The completion of the college buildings had been delayed by the disturbed commercial conditions attending the war. But in 1865, it opened its doors. Miss Mitchell had most naturally a vital interest in the education of young women. She remembered her own aspirations and the meagre educational opportunities she had enjoyed. She had read of the inception of this institution and had followed it through the prolonged period of its preparation. She had indeed made enquiries regarding the corps of instructors to be employed, having in mind an able young friend who might join its teaching force. That she herself should become a teacher in this new college had not suggested itself. She had not taught and did not regard herself as suitably fitted either by nature or training to be an instructor. The simple, retired life she was now leading satisfied her modest desires, modest so far as outward demands were concerned. Her telescope offered occupation for her mind and hand, and scope for her ambition. Her income would be quite large enough when the abnormal prices produced by the war should fall to their normal proportions. So she looked for no change. But Matthew Vassar, founder of the new college upon the Hudson River, had heard of this able woman astronomer, and he had decided to give a good astronomical equipment to the institution into which his whole generous heart was now pouring itself. Therefore, he said, "Let us secure this

woman astronomer for our college," and he requested the president-elect, Dr. Raymond, to go to Lynn for a personal interview. The result of this interview was the appointment of Miss Mitchell to the professorship of astronomy at Vassar College. She hesitated to make this change, but the unsought-for opening presented itself somewhat as a call to a broader sphere of activity and usefulness, which she felt she ought not to disregard. Her father heartily favored her acceptance of the proffered position and was ready to go with her to the new home. Therefore, in the fall of 1865, Miss Mitchell moved to Poughkeepsie, N. Y., and took up her abode with her father in the observatory of Vassar College.

Now began her life as a teacher. Hitherto she had been an astronomer solely. Her duties in her new position included the kind of work to which her whole attention had been until now directed. The observatory had two good telescopes, a transit instrument and an equatorial, and the use of these instruments in instructing her pupils and in independent study of the sky were parts of her professional duty. The instruction of her pupils, however, both in practice and theory, took precedence of her independent work. To this she felt her first and best energy must go, and if either line of work must be curtailed by the claims of the other, it was that of the astronomer and not of the teacher. Her influence as a teacher was a powerful one, but her power lay in her own character, and not in her ability to impart information. She herself was so far self-taught and she believed so thoroughly in individual effort, that she laid little stress on making difficult points clear by her own exposition. Her students would not say, "She made us understand by her lucid explanation," but rather, "She inspired us with such desire to conquer the subject, that we could not be content until we had made it clear by our own thinking." This quality of inspiration in a teacher is a far higher one than of elucidation, however forcible or however clear. It is better to create in a student a desire and a sense of power than to make subjects plain to his understanding. Neither was Prof. Mitchell a drill teacher. She would not drive an unwilling student by repeated questioning, but she made idleness and indifferent performance so contemptible by her incisive condemnation and sharp wit, that the laggard hastened her step. Miss Mitchell's courses were no "soft electives." They meant faithful work and interested work, and work also beyond the requirements of the class-room hour.

Prof. Mitchell placed much stress upon the practice of eye and

hand, and wished her pupils to observe as well as study. The practical and theoretical were kept side by side. She would not allow her classes to use the telescopes until they had learned something by the intelligent use of the unaided eye. The two large mounted telescopes belonging to the observatory equipment were unsuited to the earlier practice of her students and therefore she brought to Poughkeepsie one of her own smaller glasses, known among us as the "Dolland," from its maker, which was of great service. Later she secured from a personal friend a fine portable Clark telescope as a gift to the observatory. No astronomical event important or unimportant was allowed to escape the attention of her girls. The spots of the sun were followed day by day and drawings were made of the larger and more interesting ones. In 1873, when photography began to be extensively used in the study of the sun's surface, she built at her own expense the apparatus for photographing the sun, and delegated to her older students the duty of taking a picture of the sun every clear day. If a meteoric shower was expected, her classes were summoned to the observatory and organized in groups for the systematic observation of the sky. Eclipses were observed with scientific exactness, and not only for the pleasure of seeing. And in this work she herself frequently assumed a subordinate post—that her students might perform the more important and interesting portion of the observation. When eleven years old she helped her father for the first time during his observations of a lunar eclipse. This counting of the time is a very important part of the observation, but it confines the eye to the face of the chronometer or clock. Similar lunar eclipses recur in a period of eighteen years, the Saros of the Chaldeans. It is an interesting fact that fifty-four years from this time, when the third lunar eclipse recurred following the one when as a little girl she sat by her father's side, and watched the second hand of the clock, she again, a woman of sixty-five years, sat by the chronometer and noted the ticking second, this time for the young girls who were stationed at the telescopes around her. The students of her advanced class, always a smaller class, because requiring the higher mathematics, were taken into the regular observing work of the department. They were her companions and assistants.

As a member of the Faculty of Vassar College, Prof. Mitchell rendered invaluable service. Vassar College as a college in the true sense of the word was an experiment. The public mind was not ready to take in serious earnest an attempt to give to young women as

thorough and as advanced an education as was given to young men. Neither the young women who entered in 1865 nor the communities from whence they came, regarded the prospectus of Vassar, which declared its collegiate intent, as meaning all it said. The three hundred young women who presented themselves that first year were, with the exception of some forty or fifty, unprepared for Freshman grade. They had come to Vassar as to any other boarding school or Academy, expecting to obtain whatever they liked in a desultory or irregular way. Therefore there arose at the beginning a struggle between necessity and ambition. The college was inadequately endowed and must look to its students for its sure maintenance. It could not turn from its doors the large number of young women unprepared to enter the regular college class. Therefore it must found, as it did, a preparatory course. In this struggle, carried on for many years between pecuniary need and scholarly standard, Prof. Mitchell stood always for high standard. She had not received a college training herself but her own careful reading had led her to exact demands, and she disliked superficial acquirements with all the heartiness of a strong nature trained in a Quaker home. Her own courses of study were strictly scientific. She was urged by friends of the college, who wished above all things to see large numbers flock to its doors, to make her courses popular. But she yielded never an inch of her high requirement. And in the general control of the college her influence always went in the same direction. Thorough training everywhere, a real education, not a seeming one, this was her desire for Vassar College.

In the social life of the college her influence was of the best. In all educational institutions in retired sections of the country, the college community makes its own society, and determines its own social tone. Prof. Mitchell enjoyed society, but she wished genuine society, and not merely forms and fashionable juxtapositions. She was appreciative of humor and always ready herself with bright and telling remarks. She paid so little attention to the ordinary conventionalities and was so conscientious in her attitude toward truth-speaking that her speech was not infrequently thought harsh and brusque by those who knew her slightly. But to those who understood her, her honest expression was one of her especial attractions. One could be confident that with her, there was no hidden motive and no covered satire. The thought was no harsher than the word, and in reality not so harsh.

The festivities of the young people about her found a sympathetic helper in her. She enjoyed seeing them happy and was glad to con-

tribute her share to their happiness. A party at the observatory was a joyous event. At the close of the college year it was her habit to invite all her students to a social gathering in the dome of the observatory. This unusual place of meeting added a novelty to the occasion. The quiet darkness of this rounded space with its central telescope following through the night the steady course of the stars, was transformed into a brightly lighted apartment and under the stately tube of the telescope were gathered the merry tables of young women. Prof. Mitchell had an unusual gift at making rhymes, and the "Dome Party" was made delightful by a generous use of this facility. In general these lines were sparkling with humor, but now and then there was a serious touch. I remember the closing verses of one of these which blended the serious with the merry. The subject has passed out of my mind, but these lines addressed to her students, remain:

"Who, lifting their hearts to the heavenly blue
Will do woman's work for the good and the true,
And as sisters or daughters or mothers or wives
Will take the starlight into their lives."

* * * * *

Prof. Mitchell, the astronomer, however, was not lost in Professor Mitchell the teacher and professor. She kept up her astronomical work with unabated interest. The new observatory demanded much preliminary attention. Before the investigating work of an observer can systematically begin, certain observations must be made extending over considerable time for the correct determination of the latitude and longitude of the observatory. This requires very careful work. Professor Mitchell began immediately upon these determinations. The latitude she determined by the best methods within the scope of her apparatus and closed her work in this direction by the aid of a special telescope loaned by the U. S. Coast Survey. The longitude also covered several years before it was finally and satisfactorily determined, the final value being obtained by telegraphic connection with Harvard College Observatory. Along with this preliminary work was carried the study of the physical characteristics of the planets, especially Jupiter and Saturn and to some extent, of double stars. She published monographs on Jupiter and Saturn in Silliman's Journal. She was appointed a member of Prof. Coffin's party for the observation of the total eclipse of August 1869, and took with her on that scientific journey several of her own pupils. Her records of this eclipse were published in Prof. Coffin's report. Again in 1878 she

went west, this time to Denver, to observe the total eclipse of that year.

Her interest in Comets continued and she observed several, returning to Poughkeepsie on two or three occasions during the summer vacation for this purpose. On one occasion she was on her journey to Boston, when she saw through the small window of her stateroom a new and, as yet, unannounced comet. She immediately returned to the college to obtain its position. She had at this time received two honorary degrees from American Colleges and later was made L. L. D., by Columbia. She had published several articles of a more popular character in the leading periodicals and had collected a series of interesting lectures both astronomical and descriptive which were annually delivered to her classes. The article above referred to about the Herschels was the substance of one of these lectures, which yearly delighted a fresh group of young listeners. In 1873 she made a second journey to Europe, again visiting the principal observatories and including in this tour the celebrated Russian observatory at Pulcowa, which had grown into prominence since her first visit.

For twenty-three years Prof. Mitchell lived in the observatory of Vassar College. She saw the institution to which personal interest bound her, pass from its experimental condition into one of confident security, and she watched the development of woman's education in other colleges, in Smith, Wellesly and Bryn Mawr. She believed in co-education, however, and held that these separate institutions for girls were temporary phases in the evolution of the educational problem. She followed also during these years the wonderful fresh growth in astronomy, the new astronomy, as it is called.

In August, 1888, she would be seventy years old. In 1881 she had a lingering attack of malarial fever, not severe but exhausting. She recovered from this illness, but did not regain the physical vigor which had preceded it. The evening work with the instruments which hitherto had claimed her attention whatever the degree of exposure involved, began now to tax her lessened powers. The cares of the department, the preparation for her lectures, grew into a conscious burden. She had planned to hold her post at Vassar until she had attained the age of seventy, but during the winter preceding her seventieth birthday she found herself too weak to continue her active labors any longer. Therefore in January, 1888, she resigned her position at Vassar College and returned to Lynn. Her resignation was not accepted by the Trustees, but she was relieved of all the cares of

the department and a substitute appointed for the remainder of the year. Then she was made Professor *Emerita* and was offered a home at Vassar and the use of the instruments of the observatory for whatever private work she might wish to carry on. Her health did not permit of the acceptance of this offer, but she did not entirely relinquish her hold upon astronomical work. She made arrangements for mounting again the telescope which she had been using at the time she left Lynn, and she hoped to resume in a quiet way the work upon double stars which had been her special interest twenty-three years before.

A small observatory was built in the rear of her sister's house and the telescope put upon its foundation. The building of the observatory gave her pleasant occupation during the summer following her resignation. During the winter she could not work and her hopes looked forward to the warmer weather of the next Spring. But when that Spring came, it found her utterly broken in body and weakening in mind. The clear intellect failed with the failing body. She died on June 28, 1889, and was buried in Nantucket beside her father and mother.

There are two classes of reformers, those who are reformers by nature and those who are reformers by conviction. Prof. Mitchell belonged to the second class. She did not love change for change's sake; she loved the old ways and the old methods. She was essentially conservative in her tastes and habits. Although a scientist by interest and by education, she had (as I have said in connection with her own education) a great respect for the classics, and frequently expressed something of regret that she herself was not more familiar with them. So in her attitude toward the questions bearing upon the advancement of women, her instincts may be said to have been rather of the conservative type. She was not in favor of woman suffrage in her youth. Public speaking for a woman was not an agreeable contemplation when first presented to her mind. But a reformer by conviction she certainly was, and a staunch one. So soon as the justice and right of a change were clear to her thought, from that moment prejudice and personal preference were overthrown and she stood for the reform whether in education, in custom, or in law. She became a most ardent believer in the extended education and activity of women, and a constant upholder of the suffrage. Her interest in the education of women had always been a lively one. She had through her own exertions supplied the money for the tuition of more than one

worthy young girl of ability while she was still in Nantucket, and long before she had herself become intimately connected with a woman's college.

Miss Mitchell was thoroughly democratic in her opinions, and looked upon no honest occupation as unworthy. Associated with a college and furthering the advanced education of girls by all means at her command, nevertheless she discountenanced the indiscriminate urging of all young women to take the higher course of study. She believed in industrial training and industrial occupations for those who did not love books and were not of the studious type. She frequently cited with approbation the case of a friend of her youth who had laid aside teaching, which neither suited her tastes nor agreed with her health, and had taken up raisin farming on the Pacific coast.

I have spoken of Prof. Mitchell as a woman of science, as a teacher and as a reformer, but her character as a woman, that is, as an individual, comprised and surpassed all these. She was unique, because she was thoroughly and completely genuine. She was sincere in thought and word and action beyond the usual significance of the word sincerity. She was more than sincere, because she was possessed of that utter simplicity of character which includes sincerity. As Fenelon says, a man may be sincere without simplicity, but he cannot possess simplicity without also possessing sincerity. There was hardly a gap between her thought and word. She had that directness of expression which constitutes the charm of true childhood and than which nothing in maturity is more precious if it is accompanied by a kind heart. As I have before said, Prof. Mitchell's word sometimes seemed brusque and sometimes harsh, but this arose from her non-conformity to the usual motives. Most of us may often speak with a polite kindness, though the thought behind the word may be that of disapproval, that is, we are not simple, and we may misunderstand the real feeling of one who is governed by such rare simplicity of mind. With this unusual directness of character, Prof. Mitchell combined a corresponding simplicity of habit. This she possessed by training as well as by nature. The plain ways of her early Quaker home went with her through life. She freighted neither body nor mind with unnecessary burdens. She was as plain and sensible in her costume and her home as she was unconventional and unencumbered in her mind. To one familiar with the "Meditations" of the Stoic Emperor Marcus Aurelius, she would recall that vigorous paragraph of his: "For the greatest part of what we say and do being unnecessary, if a

man takes this away, he will have more leisure and less uneasiness. Accordingly, on every occasion a man should ask himself, 'Is this one of the unnecessary things?' "

Prof. Mitchell was at heart a religious woman, though her exact honesty deterred her from using the ordinary formulæ of belief. She could not say "I believe," unless she did believe with her full, consenting intellect. She did not remain a member of the Quaker sect after she attained maturity. She associated herself with the Unitarians as closely as with any religious body, but she bound herself nowhere. Poetry of a devote tone she loved to read.

The crowning beauty of Miss Mitchell's moral character was her undeviating obedience to her highest sense of duty. I cannot express this quality of her nature more forcible than I have already done in a private memorial paper written at the request of the Vassar College Alumnæ, and this I will quote in closing :

"Her love of the true and devotion to the right were as pre-eminent as her frankness and straight forwardness. She knew no policy and no quibbling. If a thing was right to do, that was the whole question, and she went to its performance with as direct a course as a star to its culmination. Her judgment may have failed, but never her determination to be and to do what was just and true. She saw the laws of the moral world with as clear an eye as she saw the laws of the physical world, and as the strength and permanence of the one compelled her intellectual admiration, so the eternal obligation of the other compelled her reverent obedience. The spiritual significance of duty ran parallel with the power and security of law, and she would say as Wordsworth did in those grand lines addressed to Duty :

"Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong,
And the most ancient heavens through Thee are fresh and strong."

THE COLORED WOMEN OF THE SOUTH.

BY MRS. ELIZABETH HYDE BOTUME.

WE have only to remember the position which all women, of whatever rank or station, held at the beginning of the present half century, to get a little idea of the condition of the colored women of the South at the same time. Our own rights were accorded as privileges. By the world at large, the nine points of the law, the rights of possession were granted as grudgingly. It said in deeds, if not words, "for all you get be thankful."

The females of the slave race were held to be vastly inferior to the males. In early days there were but few free colored women at the South. Indeed, I can say there were none, since the "slavery freedom" which we know, was far worse than actual bondage. The "free niggers" were an irresponsible class, without rights or privileges. In bondage there was a head to refer to.

Female slaves were counted of much less value than the males. "A nigger boy is worth \$1,000—but a *girl*,—well you can buy a likely girl for three hundred dollars," once said a Southern man to me: The only advantage a slave woman had was, that the children went with the mother, without reference to the father. That is, the owner of the mother owned the children. This was of necessity, as the paternity of a child was often doubtful, and as children were property, reckoned by dollars and cents, there obviously must be a law in regard to them. So the slave-mothers could only claim their offspring for their owners, and not for themselves.

This is where the colored women stood, and where we must start in our analysis of their character and condition; "*us ain't no 'count*," was their estimate of themselves. As soon as a slave girl could toddle around, she learned she was to be only the toy and plaything of her boy companions, white and black. The children of the two races were boon companions in their earliest years. The little girls must go and come, and fetch and carry to please their masculine playmates.

In this way their wills were subdued, while their tempers were not improved.

As they grew older, only their personal attractions and quick wit could gain for them friends, or keep them as such for any length of time. "We is nobody," was always before them. In this way their vanity was excited, and petty jealousies were aroused. They often became secretive and vindictive, knowing they possessed nothing by right. They belonged body and soul, first to their owners, and next to an elected master, white or black. A slave girl would work unceasingly for the boy or man she loved; doing her own task and then sharing that of her more idle fellow servant. Or, when her tasks were done she would sing and dance and hunt flowers and nuts for the pleasure of her white friends. When in time hard work and double duty had left their marks, and these girls became round shouldered and sharp-featured they were cast aside for younger, and fresher favorites. No wonder they became wicked and morose. I draw the picture of not one, but a class. Like Topsy, many of them felt they only "grewed"—and for what?

The first real affection aroused in these girls was the love of children. This is enduring. It never leaves them. However perverse or bad tempered a girl may be, she will pet and fondle a baby. In my experience unkindness to the little ones is the exception and not the rule. Love and hate are near together, and with these undisciplined characters, loving and fighting are almost synonymous. Many colored girls know no other way than to "strike out," which they will do if occasion demands. Any person, or anything weaker than themselves appeals strongly to their feelings, and they will fight for what they consider justice and right.

In time, these girls became mothers,—more rarely wives. With motherhood, their whole natures change. The most furious would be docile for a time; only when their offspring were assailed, then they were like tigers. If a girl had a *boy child*, she felt the full importance of having given to the world a superior production. But if only a *girl*, she soon foresaw what a struggle life was to be for her, what hours of unrequited toil were before her, what complete self-abnegation was her doom, how much of the best and holiest in life she must give and how little receive, only that she could not formulate her ideas and give expression in words, but such was the coloring and impress to her life. She must be patient and helpful and watchful for all. Her industry increased. New ways and means for her

aroused energies were developed. She became again as in her childhood, imitative, inquisitive and alert. From intuition the colored women became skilled in many ways.

In early days the marriage relation between the slaves, if not justified by man, was sanctified to God. Not that all were faithful to their simple promises,—there were no vows; how could they be, or why should they be, when the whims of an owner or the passions of an overseer could hopelessly separate the most devoted couple?

In 1865, I needed a laundress to come to my house, and my good cook, Aunt Jane, brought to me Lizzie, one of her "fellow servants." She was a tall, well formed woman, but the most down-cast, forlorn creature I ever knew. She had with her a strikingly handsome child, eight years old. This girl had bright gleaming eyes, under long lashes, incomparable teeth, and a mass of straight black hair. Her name was Mary Jane, but the people as well as her mother always spoke of her as "Poor Missey." Lizzy's tenderness for this child was really pathetic and often seemed to me foolish. I wanted her to make her do something like the other children. Finally one day I reproved her sharply for spoiling her child. To which she meekly replied, "It can't be helped, ma'am. *It has to be.*"

I then appealed to "Ma Jane," as the servants called my cook, when she told me Lizzy's story.

In old times she was as fine, and likely a girl as there was on the plantation. She had Sandy, a prime fellow, for her husband, and they were as devoted and happy as could be. But the overseer took a fancy to Lizzy, and wanted her to live with him. She resisted and appealed to her mistress, who told her not to be afraid, she would take care of her. Missis never allowed anybody to meddle with her girls,—"*gals*" Aunt Jane said,—and never liked a mixing up of families, any way. Then the overseer came with complaints of Lizzy. She was obstinate, and saucy, and neglected her work. This was not long before the trouble about secession, when the war was coming on, and "Missis was worried,—racked about on all sides," and there was trouble and confusion everywhere. She told the overseer that she had never separated one of her families, and she never would. But finally she agreed to *sell Lizzy to him*, and he could do with her as he pleased. When Sandy heard of this, he swore he would kill Lizzy and her master too. But they soon went to Charleston, and in time the poor boy enlisted as a soldier, "He is now in the Union Army "fighting the Secesh," said Aunt Jane, with pride.

"When Lizzy's baby was born she declared it was not hers, and she would have nothing to do with it, and them other women's had to mind it for her. But when we all refused, she came off and brought Missy with her and now she will never lef' her out of her sight," said Aunt Jane.

Not long after this Lizzie came to beg me to let her go to Charleston and would I please make arrangements for her going as soon as possible. I hesitated, for this was not an easy thing to do. To my questions as to why she was so hurried &c., she exclaimed, "I *mus'* go, ma'am. Missy's father is sick and alone. He ain't got nobody to min' him, nor to give him anything to eat. He will starve and he will die. Please ma'am, help me, for I *mus'* go." This took me so by surprise, I exclaimed, "Why Lizzy, do you care for that man?"

At this, her whole manner changed. Turning quickly, she raised her head and looked me full in the face. Her eyes flashed and her hands were tightly clasped as she leaned forward and almost screamed, "I *hate* him! I *hate* him! I should like to kill him this minute." Then, her passion gone, she threw her arms over her head and sank down, sobbing out, "But he is Missy's father, an' I *mus'* go and take care of him. Please ma'am help me."

She went, taking with her the little money she had earned and all the comfortable things we could provide for a sick room. It was not very long before she returned, looking as serene as ever, but happier than I had ever seen her before. She came directly to me, and her first words were, "He's dead, ma'am, an' I took care of him to the last. I washed him and fed him, an' put on the clean clothes I carried with me, an' I make up a bed for him. He said only for me he would have starved. An' he asked me to forgive him for all the cruel wrong he done me. An' he asked God to bless Missy an' me. An' when he died some of my fellow servants make a box an' help me, and we buried him in the white folks's burying ground. Old Uncle Sambo make a powerful prayer when they funeralized the body."

"He did, eh!" said Aunt Jane, who had come up to listen, for these were all her own people. "An' Sambo prayed for that old rebel? Oh! but he was a wicked man!"

"Yes," said Lizzy, "Sambo say he was one of God's little children. It is all over now, an' I is satisfied." Who can say that these women were not filled with the essence of christianity as embodied in "these three, Faith, Hope and Love."

In old times the slave women occupied many important posts of trust. In every well-to-do Southern family was an old mammy, who was really the ruler of the household. The higher the family the more was mammy honored by all. It was she who ruled, and governed, and taught the children morals and good manners. For their sakes she learned even the mysteries and intricacies of books, which were forbidden to all the other slaves. The nurses worked under her direction. She was the connecting link between mistress and maid. The older boys and girls came to her for advice and sympathy and help in all their real or imaginary troubles. She was a safe repository for all family secrets, and her mind was full of resources in time of need. She was really, if not nominally, the housekeeper, the adviser when master and mistress were tormented by stupid and obstinate servants, the reliable helper in all times of trouble. Sometimes it was she alone who dared to go to young or old master when in paroxysms of rage, or to mistress when in temper. In spite of their threats she would tenderly minister to their wants, no doubt giving them a little wholesome scolding in the mean time, and so the tempestuous elements were quelled. There was no limit to the mammy's influence and power. No estimates can be made of her wisdom, her general intelligence and her untiring devotion.

More than once I have heard lovely, refined Southern women say, "All I am and the best there is in me I owe to my dear old mammy. I always went to her for comfort when a child. If my mother refused me a favor I would go to mammy, sure of her sympathy, if nothing else."

Not long ago, an old colored woman died in Beaufort who in old times, had been one of these honored servants. She had never left her mistress, a lady of high degree, whose waiting maid and companion she had been all their lives. In her last sickness this lady watched by her bedside and tenderly ministered to all her wants and when she died, grieved deeply for her, saying, "There lies the best and truest friend I ever had. No words can tell how much she has been to me in all the troublous times of our long lives. Whatever happened to me, I relied upon her, and she never failed."

This is a picture of many of the colored women before the war. They belonged to everybody but to themselves. For their owners and their own people they were a power. For themselves, they were nothing. They had neither time, body nor estate. If a woman had a husband, he was master's servant. Her children were master's

"little niggers." Her nursing baby was given to somebody else to mind, while she nursed and cared for a white child. Her whole being was absorbed in that of her owners.

When emancipation came the colored women were forced for the first time to think and act for themselves. Until then they had always been in rank and file. Those who were house-servants and lived in towns had superior advantages and opportunities for learning something. But the "country niggers," the great majority of the race, were helplessly ignorant and superstitious. They were regarded by their fellow servants of the towns as inferior animals. The women worked in the fields under overseers and drivers. They had no individuality; their wills had been crushed; they were only agricultural machines. The severest reproach that could be brought upon the slaves was, "they know too much." This implied a dangerous character. When the shackles were removed and freedom came, they were almost powerless. They had to manage for themselves—no easy thing to do.

How can these women be helped to fit into civilization and the new condition of things? This has been and is still the great question before us. In view of all the facts, I have never been surprised at what they did not know, but that they knew anything. In their lives the teaching of all the Ten Commandments had been reversed.

The first thing the freedwomen did was to get their children together,—the only things in the world they could call their own. The next thing was to get them enrolled in some one of the schools just started for contrabands. This enrollment was to them like a badge of honor, which of itself lifted them from *nothing* to *something*. Old men and women were eager to have their names put down in a teacher's list, which in this way brought them into rank. They had no conception of the process of learning. They supposed it came intuitively. They had only to put themselves in line and all else would follow. Women would come to the school house and ask for a lesson as they would go to a store and call for a bar of soap or a pound of sugar. "Please ma'am read me quick and let me go, I'se hasty," they would say. Or, "I only come to catch a lesson an' I ain't time to sit."

Some would really learn. One woman came from a neighboring plantation where she was working, eager to learn to read. She never had a book in her hands before. As I handed her the primer, I turned it around and pointed out the letters. Seeing this, she turned

it as I did, and began eagerly to examine the pages. The next time I came around I found her intently studying her book bottom side up. I reversed it, and explained its use to her, at which she exclaimed with great delight, "Us ain't know nothing. My lord, ma'am, book larning is a great thing!" The next day, to my surprise, she had learned all her letters. When I asked how she could this she said, "O missis! I fights them all night."

One of my house women had been a waiting maid in old times. Her master and mistress used to spell much of their conversation when she was present. Although she knew nothing about reading, she could remember the letters in order and could repeat them to her uncle, the butler, who had learned to read by stealth, and who translated them to her. I tried her by spelling rapidly a long sentence, which she repeated correctly. No wonder she was surprised that her little boy, two years old could not be taken into school and taught at "once how to read. Why he can say A and B ma'am," she said. Nor is it any wonder that this boy, when old enough to enter school made rapid strides in learning. He is now a family man and a good citizen.

At one of the festivals, I noticed a girl who kept by herself, and never joined in any of the games. "No, *ma'am*," she said with emphasis. "I jis' sit still, an' don't rush around like them other children. *Them nigger days is over.*" This contained the gist of their whole lives. "Them nigger days" were over. To the women this was everything. As soon as they comprehended they were free, they realized they must put on the whole armor of freedom.

In time, the abandoned lands held by Government, were divided into ten acre lots and sold to the freedman. The women were more eager to buy a piece of land and secure a homestead than were the men. Those who had husbands in the army used all the money they could get, and worked early and late to buy some land and build a house. In the beginning this was only a shelter. A frame enclosed with a chimney, a roof and a floor, with board shutters at the windows. But I doubt if any palatial residence in a city ever received such happy occupants as these people were when they first took possession and were able to say "*my house.*" Who is there among us who at all realize what this meant to these poor women, for the first time in their lives to call a dwelling place "home," to say "mine." There is a mighty power in that word. There had been no firesides in child

hood around which they gathered, and could call it "my father's," or "my mother's."

There is nothing which so elevates a colored woman as to put her on her own land and in her own house. As the one-roomed cabin is the most degraded atmosphere in which the colored people and indeed any people, can live, so a new house with three or four rooms is the most potent factor in their upward and onward course.

In the towns some of the colored people already vie with their white neighbors in their style of living and in the appointments of their houses. If they could discriminate and were content to copy only the best in the white race, they would excel. Unfortunately this they cannot do. They are already becoming as great slaves to fashion as their white sisters. For instance, most of the white ladies they meet have slim waists and small hands and feet, so they too affect tight corsets and narrow gloves and small shoes. There has never been anything so injurious to the colored women as tight lacing. It ruins their health and all the natural functions are perverted. In many ways this may be regarded as great an evil as whiskey drinking amongst the men. It dwarfs and stultifies the future as well as the present generation. In the country we have to contend against this same evil,—the country apes the town. Fortunately the women in the rural districts are only fashionable on Sundays and at funerals. The rest of the time they live much out of doors and their lungs are free.

We hear of the degradation of the colored people in the "black belt of the South," where their condition is even worse than in slavery. The ignorance of these people is past comprehension. Carlyle says, "That one should die ignorant who has capacity for knowledge, *this* I call tragedy." We know these people have "capacity," but they have no "opportunity," which "is God's Providence." Wherever there are schools there is marked progress and steady advancement to higher and better ways of living.

Were I asked what the colored people most need, I should say emphatically *schools*. But in these schools there must be wise and judicious teachers, who can advise and direct as well as teach the three R's. I have always before me the words of the old woman just emancipated, "O, missis! Us ain't know *nothing*, an' you is to larn we all."

Industrial education is of vast importance. But before this and of far higher importance is the knowledge of the best ways of living.

The girls must be taught what they are and what to be, what is womanhood and wifehood and motherhood, what it is to be a house-keeper and manager of home, how the well-being of the future of their race depends upon them.

The colored women are not disposed to shirk their duties when they understand them. They all belong to some of the many societies organized to help the needy, watch with the sick and bury the dead. There are around as many of these societies called "New Light," or "Sons and Daughters of Solomon," &c., &c., to which all the men and women and boys and girls belong. The men hold the offices, but the women manage and do all the work.

The subject of "*The Colored Women of the South*," is vast and complicated. There are great sectional differences. We have to take into consideration antecedents and inheritances. Now comes the questions, "What have we to do about this? Are we our sisters' keepers?" We cannot ignore the fact that they are our country-women and compatriots.

A colored man once came to me for advice, bitterly complaining of a cotton-buyer who had treated him badly. After rehearsing his grievances, which were indeed hard to bear, he exclaimed: "I declare, ma'am! he don't *desarve to be a white man*." Later, this same man became the factotum on my place, which position he held with so much seeming importance that he was called my "Prime Minister." He came to me daily for orders which I well knew must be given as explicitly as possible. After listening with great attention, he would repeat word for word, what I had said, prefacing it with, "Now I am going to show you, ma'am, *fur you is a woman an' can't look into every pint*."

Friends, I have tried to show the condition of the Colored Women of the South. If I have failed, it is from the multiplicity of facts which crowd upon me, for this is a many sided subject. In old slavery days before the war the colored women were only living and breathing machines. As we have seen, all that was holiest and best in them was desecrated. Their virtue and the sacredness of womanhood was violated, and made a subject for barter and they were powerless to resist. When first emancipated they were like new-born infants with no knowledge of themselves or the world around them. They must literally pass through all the stages of childhood, before they could arrive at any comprehension of the meaning of life. Is it

strange that they should make blunders and mistakes and even disastrous failures?

The freed people, as children, have only just attained their majority. The women are now striving to take their places and fall into rank with all other women. Let us not forget their wrongs and needs. Let us remember their neglected lives and lack of opportunities in the past, and their hopes and aspirations for the future. Whatever occasion chance may give us, let us be ready to see and improve it, and lend a helping hand. A kindly thought, the word fitly spoken, is never lost. Remember, they look to us for example as well as precept.

Let us always *deserve to be white women.*

THE SCIENTIFIC TRAINING OF MOTHERS.

BY MRS. FRANCES FISHER WOOD.

IN all our extensive and constantly multiplying literature upon the important subject of education, we have perhaps no single contribution that is more valuable than Herbert Spencer's classification of the relative worth of the various kinds of knowledge. With his characteristic breadth of thought, and unequalled brevity of statement, he proceeds to demonstrate that the education which will best prepare race or individual for self-preservation should take precedence of all other instruction. While his argument is one to which all must give at least a verbal assent, yet unfortunately, as we shall see for the preservation of the most helpless portion of the race, this assent is at present nominal only. For we in reality base our systems of education upon less vital truths, and judge of their results by other and more superficial standards. Our boys are trained first to increase their powers of acquisition; while our girls are taught the accomplishments that are supposed to heighten their personal attractions. Neither is given that knowledge of supreme importance, which would tend to increase their own physical vigor, or preserve the lives of their offspring.

As a consequence, one half of all the deaths in the United States are of children under five years of age, and one-fourth are of infants under twelve months. In cities this proportion rises, during the warmer part of the year, until one half of all the deaths are of babies under one year old.

Nor is the excessive mortality among infants confined to any class of people or to any particular section. It is sometimes carelessly stated that the large death rate in cities is limited to tenement house regions, and owing to the unwholesome environment is unavoidable. It is true that a large aggregate number of children die in the tenements, since there are more children per family, and in actual total, than can be found in more prosperous quarters of our

cities. But statistics do not indicate that any larger proportion of children survive infancy in Fifth Avenue mansions, than live through the same helpless years in the Rivington street tenements. The average education of the educated classes has not taught them self-preservation, whatever else it may have accomplished.

Women have for two generations at least, had excellent opportunities for a good general education, and for twenty years past have found opening before them institutions of the highest rank. Still in spite of the thousands of finely educated women, and the tens of thousands of well educated girls, one half of all the deaths are of children in the years when they come exclusively under the care of these women their mothers; yet medical statistics show that very few babies are born with actual disease, that even inherited taint or acquired infirmity at no other period so easily yield to judicious treatment, as in infancy; and that all this terrible mortality among children is due to apparently trifling violations of the commonest laws of science.

Clearly, the mothers at least are not educated in the most important branches of knowledge, or trained into that scientific attitude of mind which would enable them quickly and accurately to sift the important from the unimportant details of nursery regime.

For two years past, since the coming of my own baby aroused my interest in the subject, I have devoted myself to the study of the causes and conditions of health and disease in infancy. Co-operating with three doctors in my own family, in consultation with many other physicians of eminence in various parts of the country, and in correspondence with hundreds of mothers of all degrees of culture, I have come to feel that no crime of our present civilization so cries out against the women who call themselves educated as the death of more than an annual 400,000 children in the largest and most powerful republic of the world. Especially when medical science affirms that these deaths are for the most part preventable.

Even the excessive mortality is not the most serious aspect of the problem. As Spencer again pertinently says: "To the tens of thousands of children that are killed, add hundreds of thousands that survive with feeble constitutions, and millions that grow up with constitutions not so strong as they should be, and you have some idea of the curse inflicted upon their offsprings by parents ignorant of the laws of life."

The remedy usually recommended for this lamentable condition

is to furnish for women special courses of instruction upon subjects directly related to the care of infants. This undoubtedly is the most immediate and pressing need for the present generation of illy trained mothers, but it is after all a palliative only, not a cure for the prevailing maternal incompetency. For while one generation is taught the essential element in the art of caring for children, a second generation, equally ignorant, comes to maturity to take in turn its unconscious part in the slaughter of the innocents. And even if any particular set of girls could be captured in time, and laborously instructed in every known precept and principle of mother's duty, with the now phenomenal progress of scientific discovery, it is quite probably that before this knowledge could be useful, it would already have become obsolete, or only relatively valuable.

Moreover a greater difficulty presents itself, no one can teach scientific truth to people who have no scientific bias or training. In their hands, facts are simply distorted out of all natural proportion, or applied to practical purposes so crudely or incorrectly, as to become no better than grossest error.

Information about the care of infants is never lacking to anyone. Grandmothers, great-aunts, cousins and friends all have for the young mother a flood of instruction, varying from good, through indifferent to bad advice. The difficulty is, that the recipient has usually not had such an education as would develop her powers of discrimination. She has no knowledge of general laws, no logical habits of reasoning, no independence of thought, no maturity of judgment. She, in her untrained condition, is quite likely to accept from out this conglomerate advice the grossest superstitions as her basis of action, and to reject as too absurd for credence the latest and best conclusions of scientific investigation. Therefore while we do need, and that immediately, classes where mothers may counsel together, or hear lectures from specialists, we more than all need for this, and indeed for all the emergencies of life, a revision in the general system of public education. Women, who now recognize their own lack of systematic drill and mental discipline, should demand that their daughters at least have such training as shall contribute to the preservation of the race, not to life only, but also to sound health.

I trust no one of my hearers will fancy that this plea is a prelude to a discourse advising a sex education, or inculcating the necessity of courses in domestic work for women, in lieu of the higher or intellectual training. I am not an advocate of manual training as a sub-

stitute for intellectual discipline, but, quite the contrary, believe that the broadest intellectual training is the best and only rational preparation for highest excellence in any practical industry. I would therefore change not to a narrower curriculum for our girls, but to a broader one. To train an ideal cook, one needs to teach not cooking, but the elements of chemistry and natural philosophy; and to produce competent mothers one needs, in particular hygiene, physiology and kindred sciences; and in general, any training that will convert women into independent, vigorous thinkers. There is no sex in mind, any mental discipline that is useful for a boy is useful for a girl, but in greater degree. For the education that is a convenience to a man, is a necessity for a mother.

The highest or university training is absolutely unattainable to the majority of girls, as it indeed is also to the majority of boys. If, therefore, the great mass of girls and future mothers are to be benefited, we must have revision in our system of public education, from the primary grades. We have now, in all except a few favored institutions, methods that burden the memory and dwarf the individuality of the pupils; whereas we should bend all our efforts to develop the critical faculties and educate the judgment. If the day comes when science and mathematics are allowed to train the mothers' minds in habits of careful observation and logical deduction, their hands will answer as promptly with wise doing, and the 50 per cent death rate among children will cease to shame our boasted civilization. But in order to reach this "consummation devoutly to be wished," we must cut down to the vanishing point the time our girls spend on ornamental studies, and above all things, rid ourselves of mechanical, parrot-like recitations, rote learning, and all striving for marks, prizes and rank.

I know it is constantly argued that common-sense and not science is the most valuable capital for a mother, that experience and not theory is the safe guide in matters maternal, but I venture to disagree with this oft-repeated dictum. Old fashioned New England mothers are, for instance, often extolled as an ideal type of motherhood, while college-bred women are the staple of popular newspaper jokes in their fancied futile attempts to care for their offspring. Yet statistics show that the mortality among the native New England stock exceeds that of any other section or class in the United States, and that the proportion of deaths to births is moreover all the time steadily increasing. While on the other hand, among the ridiculed college women

nine-tenths of their children survive infancy. A record which I believe has never been equalled in any country or age since statistics furnished data for such deduction. The average woman has experience in plenty, and common sense without question, but she is not scientific—that is, not hospitable to new truths. She has made up her mind, and that very firmly, on all the narrow range of subjects within her personal experience, and the care of children is usually one of them. The more experience an obstinate woman acquires, the farther she travels from the beginning of wisdom; and a weak woman in the same way grows only the more vacillating since, in absence of any general principles, one experience always seems to contradict another. Experience in caring for children is worse than useless, unless as a superstructure to a knowledge of sound theory built on natural laws. A woman who has been scientifically educated can in three hours be taught more about the care of infants, than another, intellectually untrained, can learn from personal experience alone in a life time.

Last month, in a town in rural New Hampshire, I stood in the burying ground before a row of eight small headstones. The inscriptions read: "Son of Joel and Anna Blank, six months old; daughter of Joel and Anna Blank, four years old, and so on, until the eighth one, a new made grave, indicated that there was buried the last child of Joel and Anna Blank. Evidently experience with even as many as seven children, had not served to save the last and eighth.

In other occupations less exacting and important than a mother's, we allow expense alone to count for very little. If a man, for instance, begins to practice medicine without having studied the general scientific principles of his profession, upon the mere capital of expense, we avoid him as a quack and despise him as either an impostor or a fool. A mother's responsibilities are not less heavy than those of the physician who attends her children. Yet she demands of him that he be conversant with all of the latest developments of physical science, while she, herself, is satisfied to go back for her precepts and principles to her grandmother's traditions. How often one hears these untrained mothers declare that only a little experience is needed to explode all one's most cherished theories, and that book knowledge is useless in the face of a domestic emergency. Scientifically trained mothers would start in the hypothesis that each individual child will, of course, vary from the general average upon which any theory must be based; and they would therefore find book knowledge, not useless,

but infinitely valuable as a measure of the variation the particular child in question makes from the normal.

Experience, so called, has on the other hand, no accepted standard by which to judge its own results. It is merely what Mrs. Smith did fifty years ago, or what Mrs. Brown said yesterday; more than likely neither said what was true, and at best such reasoning from particular case to general rules, deducing universal principles from individual experience is a veritable argumentum ad feminam known in the parlance of masculine logic as a fallacy. From scientific works, on the contrary, we glean the best experience and conclusions of all the world's greatest intellects, working along the line of the latest theories, and using as ground material the most valuable discoveries of all time.

Why should I wish to know how old Mrs. Brown fed her children years ago, or why should I wish to learn how Grandmother Smith used to dose her baby? When, in the quiet of my own library, I can, in less time, ascertain from the greatest living authority in the care of children, the whole science of infant dietary, and can learn how, not merely to cure but better still, to prevent colic, and dispense with all domestic dosing whatever. Scientific knowledge and old traditions on the care of children seldom harmonize and are frequently diametrically opposed to one another.

Tradition or experience, for instance, declares that all babies cry, just for the pleasure of crying, and that crying is positively beneficial; the common expression being "the child that never cries is a fool." Science affirms that, in infancy at least, no child cries except as a signal of ill health or discomfort, and that while and whenever it does so protest, its care-taker is convicted of some sort of mismanagement, past or present. Tradition again lays down the law that every baby must, forsooth, be bound with bands and tightened with girths to insure its having a good figure. Science shows that this notion is a relic of barbarism, that nature is quite competent to take care of her own, and that no string or bandage of any kind can be allowed to retard the growth of the tiny body, under penalty of serious digestive disorders.

Tradition inculcates the doctrine that all babies must necessarily suffer from colic and pains and general discomfort of the stomach. Science declares that these are all abnormal, that they are simply indications of indigestion, that they point to errors of diet, or are the result of the bandaging before mentioned, and can certainly be cor-

rected by removing these known causes. Tradition affirms that, in warm weather, all infants are affected by stomach and bowel trouble, and accepts it as inevitable that the greatest part of the mortality among children should result from this cause. Science, speaking through the all powerful authority of Tyndall, Pasteur, Lister, Koch and their co-workers in the study of bacteriology, assures us that all these disorders of the intestinal tract are due to the presence of germs, which cause fermentation. That we mothers actually introduce these countless myriads of destructive microbes into the stomachs of our babies, with the milk and water, and that by killing these germs, sterilizing the food as it is called, we may eliminate each and all of these digestive disorders, which annually destroy in one single city of the Union the major part of the 20,000 children who die under five years of age.

Tradition again teaches that we must beware of the second summer as the most precarious period of the infant's life. The science of statistics absolutely disapproves this notion, and shows that with every month of existence a child's hold on life is strengthened. Four times as many children die in the first year as in the second, and only half as many die in the third as in the second. Therefore a baby brought in health through one year has quadrupled its chance of future existence, and will double it again at two years old. Between five and sixty-five years of age, one enjoys, by the statistical average, about one hundred chances of life to one of death, but under one year only four to one. In determining the physical stamina of a child the first six months of life are therefrom worth as much as any six years later on.

Women who have been scientifically trained, may, as mothers, not only secure for their own children much more than the average chance for long life and sound health, but they can, by making public their success, failures and discoveries,—for discoveries there must be in this almost untried field,—can actually reduce infant mortality to normal limits, and more important still, increase the average vigor of those who survive.

Anyone who follows scientific principles, or uses new and sounder methods of physical training must not, however, hope to escape ridicule and even censure from mothers whose faith in the old superstitions is genuine and intense, and who really believe that any departure from this time-honored routine will be fatal to the child.

An old lady, after asking in detail about my system with my own

baby, said severely, "When you lose your baby, as you certainly will before it is a year old, you will bitterly regret having been so self-willed." "But," I said, "I do nothing rashly, I have in every innovation the professional counsel or consent of my husband, Dr. Wood." "What do men know about babies," she said scornfully, "one old woman is better than five doctors!" "That being the case, is it not strange," I suggested, "that no woman or mother has made any valuable contribution to the world's knowledge on the care of infants?" The standard authorities in the infant physiology and hygiene are all men and physicians; the best works in infant psychology are by men, Preyer and Perez; the most valuable book in children's education is from the pen of a man and bachelor, Herbert Spencer; the only rational, healthful dress for a baby was designed and published by a man, Dr. Grosvenor; and the sterilizing of infant food, which has revolutionized the whole dietary system, and saved the lives of thousands and ten thousands of children, was discovered and perfected by Soxlet, a man and scientist.

Women never can render any valuable service or make important discoveries, even in this their peculiar field of work, until they abandon the theory that anyone of them knows more than any five men, irrespective of ability or training. It is not a matter of sex, but of education. The facts quoted prove that woman's experience against man's scientific training has availed her little; but if the science and the art, the knowing and the doing, could be combined in the person of the mother, discoveries and improved systems would follow, which would outweigh in value all that is now known.

Another dear motherly soul, a woman of wealth and position, said, with a comfortable sigh: "Well at least I am thankful that my brood of children came along before we knew anything about these artificial foods and sterilized milks, this chemical analysis, and microscopic examination, all of my children had nature's nourishment, until they were old enough to come to the table and eat what the rest did." Remembering to have heard that she had a large family, I said with some feeling of awe "How many babies did you have, and did they all live to maturity?" "I had ten" she said proudly and then less triumphantly added, "but the first six died in infancy." I thought, what I could not of course say to her, that even a small degree of scientific training would have led her to doubt the value of even nature's nourishment before six babies had succumbed, that the chemical analysis she despised would probably have shown that her

breast fed children were nevertheless starved, and that, as the result of microscopic examination and discoveries, which she depreciated, one could possibly today have saved all six by improved artificial feeding.

A third mother of experience declared that she had no patience with all the current nonsense about germs and microbes. "If it were really as bad as you scientists would have us believe," she said, "we should all have been dead long ago; why didn't people die of microbes in my day? No one ever heard of germs then, and yet we got on very well, I am sure."

No one, however, who is interested in bacteriology, or familiar with mortality and health reports, deludes himself into any faith that microbes are fictions of the scientific brain; nor can he, in face of the cruel facts, console himself with any idea that the human race gets on very well despite microbes. In the United States, over 100,000 persons die annually of the single germ disease consumption; 70,000 of intestinal troubles due to germs; 40,000 of that most fearful germ disease, diphtheria; 80,000 of fevers resulting from germ infection; 10,000 of measles; 12,000 of whooping cough, 70,000 die of convulsions, croup, debility, dentition, paralysis and such secondary troubles as usually follow primary germ diseases, the resultant poisons of which have not been eliminated from the over-burdened system.

The mother who neglects to inform herself upon the general principles of germ infection, leaves her children exposed to a thousand evils and dangers that she might easily have reduced to insignificant proportions. There is, indeed, only one subject more essential for a mother to be familiar with, and that is the nourishment, the scientific nourishment of the growing child; and this is so closely related to the study of bacteriology as to be almost inseparable from it. Ten million dollars are spent annually in the United States alone for infants' foods; but, little or no individual discrimination is used by individual mothers in their selection, and no care is taken to ascertain what are the ingredients, or if they furnish the elements needed for healthful growth. If one food does not agree with the baby, another is immediately substituted, chosen hap-hazard, or selected simply because some other child is known to have survived its use. How often have I wished that mother and nurse could for a few days be fed on the same diet they give the child, that they might, once and for all, learn by their own pangs of hunger, why baby cries so continually.

A well nourished baby does not cry, is not restless, sleeps long and soundly ; its healthy mucous membrane, not only is not susceptible to infliction by germs, but actually feeds upon and destroys them, in any normal quantity. Mal-nutrition always precedes and invites actual infection, while it, at the same time, renders the system incapable of resisting the effects and recovering from the results of disease. Scores of mothers say to me, "but it is such a trouble to measure and time, to mix and analyze, to superintend and teach scientific feeding to a nurse. I haven't time or strength or money for such perfection of methods." And I always answer that one severe or prolonged illness of a child costs more, in time and strength and money, than a year of proper care ; and only the few babies who have scientific regime can possibly escape all illness. But with the nourishment administered on correct principles, nine children out of ten can, barring accidents, be brought in sound health through the first years of life.

My own baby boasts twenty-one months of life, without an hour's illness, simply because he was trained to eat, to sleep, to grow, on definite scientific principles. His nutritive system was educated with as much care as will later be exercised in his mental training ; and equally good results have been attained in almost every one of the many cases, within my own knowledge, where the same rational methods have been persistently followed.

ASSOCIATION, AND ITS BEARINGS ON WORKING WOMEN.

BY MRS. HELEN CAMPBELL.

WERE this simply a chronicle of the many clubs of many orders designed for the general help and enlightenment of wage-earning women, its telling would have been left to other hands. Of the facts and incidents making up each year of such work, there are hundreds ready to speak, and from fullest knowledge. They have given time, strength, energy and faith. It has been no gift without the giver. Organization has not, as it so often does, affected personal work or interest. On the contrary, these clubs have done more toward individualizing effort than any other philanthropic undertaking, save that involved in the Children's Aid Society of New York, with its almost ideal methods of handling subjects.

With the particular, we can all deal, through printed reports of single clubs, or the larger one of the general convention of all clubs for working girls held in New York, in April, 1890. It is the general aspects of the movement that are in question, and of this hardly more than an outline of some thoughts can be given, as to both methods and principles, the necessity that lies at the heart of the movement, and the purpose that most needs fulfillment.

To one who watches the course of progress as a whole, the nineteenth century holds one fact unknown to any other since time began. Since the day when man and woman left Eden behind, and entered the world without, mutually accusing and excusing, profound curiosity as to each other has filled the mind of both. Each generation settled to its own satisfaction, the office, the duty and the general status of its women, and the next worked out its own conception as diligently and with as enthusiastic a conviction that the final solution had come as if no other had ever lived or spoken. It was the riddle of the Sphinx still unsolved, and whether any day that time will know is to give final reply, who shall say? Poet, philosopher, law-maker,

each and all have had their say, and still for every fresh comer on the stage, the old puzzle has the same place ; and eyes, look deep as they may, find that below every depth sounded, lies another still unfathomed and, it may be, unfathomable.

So long as outward interests made small part of the life of women, and their chief end was as speedy a seeking and finding of the individual man who was to be her special phase of the general problem, women were for each other, a secondary matter. Now and then a great friendship proved what treasures might lie in close relations between women, but for the most part, there was a subtle antagonism born of all past conditions, and an inevitable result of that past and its dealings with women. It is the nineteenth century with all its complex conditions that has opened up to us the true interpretation of the past ; that has given birth to the 'wide sense of mutual obligation, and demonstrated what is still but in its beginning, the fact of capacity, and what training may do for mind and spirit.

Thus at last, women seek to understand each other, all the more eagerly it may be, for the long indifference, and so it happens that each day demonstrates more and more fully the falsity of a long accepted saying ;—"women cannot work together." The passion for organization is the outgrowth of the new desire. Squabbles and bickerings may sometimes come, but seldom or never to the largest natures, and these number steadily more and more as each day widens the outlook, and shows the sea of waving fields white to the harvest.

Negative virtues, summed up in all that patient, cheerful endurance of hard conditions must mean, have filled the past. To-day the positive ones are uppermost, and to all women some form of action outside old lines is becoming possible. To do something ; to do a great many things as continuously and as perfectly as possible, is the ambition of the American woman, and she fulfills her desire in a thousand ways. Barely a generation ago, her outlets beyond the home were the sewing and the missionary society. To-day, every town of any size has its woman's club, and its committees for general work, and chief among these is always philanthropy and the whole machinery for evening social inequalities, and lessening the spread of poverty and crime.

Here comes the point, reached speedily by all thoughtful workers in these lines ; the knowledge that prevention is far more efficacious than cure, and that to convince the majority of workers that to empty, not fill, institutions, is the chief end to be kept in view. These

masses of brick and mortar in which we house the always increasing ratio of criminals, lunatics and paupers, all the social refuse of the time, are monuments to the spirit of charity, and the gentle kindliness replacing the indifference or barbarity of the past. They are equally monuments to folly and blindness of understanding; they are equally obstacles in the way of the real work still to be done. No work has vital power which does not rouse an impulse toward personal betterment in those for whom it is undertaken. It is the individual that must pass out from the unformed mass. Individuation not massing, is the law of progress and to arrive at this conviction is the chief end of much of the work already done. Everywhere this thought has begun to stir, and from prison, reformatory, asylum alike, comes the report of experiment, investigation, patient and curious searching into causes, and the record of results.

To this long category is now to be added all phases of organization among and for working women and girls. At once we recognize that it is chiefly within the last decade that their claims have been made plain. The philanthropist has ignored them, and, from the nature of their lives, they have been cut off from most of the possibilities opening before their more fortunate sisters. More than for most women was there mutual distrust and suspicion. For the lowest order of workers competition of the fiercest made this inevitable,—while for every ascending grade it remained true in lessening but always in certain ratio.

To-day, the same conditions intensified hedge about all industries open to women, these numbering over three hundred. The struggle for most of them has been something unknown to any generation. It is marvellous that in the midst of a thousand temptations, of privations of every order, the knowledge that wages do not keep pace with the increase of trades, and that limitations are sharper and sharper—it is marvellous that the record for most is that of honest, hard-working, patient lives. To preach co-operation to these women has been till now, a waste of time. "Homes" have for many years offered them shelter at the lowest possible price and thus a common meeting ground, but few accept the life they impose. To the average worker they are tainted always by the implication of charity, by inflexible rules, and usually by sharply defined sectarianism. Through such means no really vital work could be done.

"Friendly Societies" were the first success. These originated in England, naturally a generation in advance in such thought, and

owing this advance to Kingsley and Maurice and the list of eager followers, who, forty years and more ago, faced conditions but now becoming our own. For us it is still difficult, and at many points impossible, to realize that they are our own. The growth of the mercantile spirit, with its greed for money-getting, has brought in its train a decreasing wage, the sweating system, and all the evils born of the mad rush for wealth. No nation faces a more complicated problem. A hundred alien elements brought in by emigration compete with the native laborer, and make stumbling blocks for the feet of all workers; and thus distrust has intensified, and to fuse the mass of opposite creeds, desires and purposes into any coherence or unity, appeared less and less a possibility.

The history of labor in this country included from the beginning organization for men. The public accepted this as necessary and inevitable, and the working man had come to represent something firm, self-reliant, and loyal to his class, even when most discontented and unreasonable. The consciousness of his manhood and his rights as a man, were ingrained facts, but till the Knights of Labor sent out the "preamble," which, in spite of failure to live up to it, is one of the most perfect exponents of both the rights and duties of the worker, woman had no share in the scheme.

Under the old régime, all workers had been part of the family. The apprentice system included this, but the sudden broadening of all avenues to wealth, brought about by the enormous growth of the country and the improved machinery which met the new demand for production, ended the old and brought in the new. Inevitably in this new, the individual dropped out of sight,—workers became simply "hands" and remain so. That bodies owning soul and brain are to be included, forms no part of the consideration. Society had long concentrated its work principally on the poor and the criminal, and thus a mass of hard working, patient women, and of girls who also must earn, and who began the work untrained, undeveloped, and gaining their knowledge of both work and life through sharp experience, walked in our midst unregarded and uncared for.

In the great cities a portion lived at home, but the most part were lodged in tenement houses, or if a little higher class of worker, in narrow hall bedrooms of cheap boarding-houses, or clubbed together in a larger one. When Colonel Carroll D. Wright, gave his first attention to the condition surrounding women workers, their status

had long been determined, nor had it occurred to more than here and there one, that anything was owing them by society at large.

The Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor for 1884, on the working women of Boston, their wages, lives and general prospects, was one of the first strong impulses toward betterment. As in all suddenly defined need of action, the movement began almost simultaneously at many points; Philadelphia being among the first to do her quiet but most efficient share.

The Working Woman's Guild, of that city, an offshoot of the New Century Club, owes its life as does also the parent stem, to the wisdom and energy of a woman, who has always ignored recognition, and gone her way bent only upon accomplishing her purpose, Mrs. Eliza S. Turner, the first president of the New Century Club. It is to her that New York workers turned, when the thought dawned upon them that the dreary lives of shop girls and general workers might be lightened, and there are points in the Philadelphia system still to be attempted in New York.

There is small occasion for any criticism of methods. All know the untiring energy and devotedness of Miss Dodge and her work, and the Convention of Working Girls Clubs, held in April, 1890, demonstrated the extraordinary change that six years work had wrought.

For every city where the experiment had been tried, hundreds had learned two things which underlie the formation of any such organization; first, that there are means of happiness and growth within the reach of all workers, and second, that out of such organization grows a feeling of mutual trustfulness, of solidarity, and a confidence in the power of concerted action, which will enable the worker to make effectual claims to a larger and juster share of the product of her labor.

Seventy-five societies banded together to these ends, met at the New York convention, and gave three days to a general discussion of what had already been done, and of methods of enlarging the work. For all who desire full details, it is simply necessary to write for the report of the proceedings, in which all the papers read are given in full, to the secretary of the association, 262 Madison Avenue, New York.

One of the most vital phases of the work is the White Cross movement, and the special talks to girls, hundreds of whom have received from this source their first lesson in the laws of life.

Classes of every variety from languages to cooking, have been formed, and the Philadelphia Guild, an absolutely unsectarian one, has included light carpentering, and other features of industrial training.

Further detail of the practical side is unnecessary, since he who runs may read. That there is sometimes too evident an attempt to wipe out dividing lines, and reach the level of the lowest worker, is at least a venial fault. It is at best a task filled with difficulties. The sense of equality, the "I'm as good as you are," feeling, is strong in every one. How to guide this personal independence so that it may keep the soul of wholesomeness within, yet learn that there is no equality save as souls have learned their lesson and seek the same things, is the problem to be solved.

A myriad of questions arise which only experience can answer. One thing is certain. Of all the clubs which rise on every hand, none are of such vital power, or so essential to any growth for women as a whole, as these for the worker. Her wage at best for the whole United States, is, as given by the United States Bureau of Labor at Washington, in the Report for 1888, entitled, "Working Women in Large Cities," a trifle under five dollars a week. These are sharp limitations; so sharp that the courage, the patience and fidelity of the mass of these workers, is beyond words to praise. Every influence from without tends to force them to a dead level and to keep them there. It is then, a demand upon more fortunate women, to lighten hard conditions, and give to all the knowledge in which lies their only hope of escape.

Often ignorant, incompetent, and undisciplined, and insolent because of all these conditions, the individual is sometimes a terror, but dealing with this phase, the first necessity is to ignore it, and look at the mass out of which is to be developed the capacity which is the sole title to rank as individuals.

"Masses," wrote Emerson long ago, "are rude, lame, unmade, pernicious in their demands and need not to be flattered but to be schooled, I wish not to concede anything to them, but to tame, drill, divide and break them up, and draw individuals out of them."

It is this work that is to be accomplished by the whole enormous system of clubs. They are merely one form of the higher education; the development of the lacking sense among women; and thus there can be no over-estimation of their importance. But they are means—not ends. Association for many purposes, voluntary co-operation, is

the life we accept as the natural outgrowth of any genuine civilization nor can we fix the limit of such growth, or such association. Yet always behind it, it is the individual soul,—the individual right to the best and most that life can give, that is to come.

There must be no doubt on this point. More and more we must be freed from every bond of mere custom, every tradition of the past, every error that still casts its shadow on the present. It is liberty that is to grow. Not license which wears its mask, but the liberty born of conflict and conquest of error; liberty that will carry with it equal opportunity for development of every faculty born in one, and thus secure to all honest work just wage to the worker and something in the life besides work.

Our present danger lies in supposing that these clubs give all that the worker needs or has right to ask. On the contrary, they are simply the token of the better day she is to know. They are our education no less than hers. They mean the growth of justice to the individual; the dominion of a principle toward which the ages have struggled, and in which every circumstance of life has made women deficient. What generations may still pass before the lesson is learned, who shall say? Yet we learn quickly when once the book is unsealed, and thus, how can we doubt that the future whose dawn even now flushes in our east, holds a life known as yet, chiefly to the dreamers. The century, so near its opening, holds the promise for which the past has waited. One prophet at least has known its significance, and it is Victor Hugo who shall give us its keynote. "For four hundred years the human race has not made a step but what has left its plain vestige behind. We enter now upon great centuries. The sixteenth century will be known as the age of painters, the seventeenth will be termed the age of writers, the eighteenth the age of philosophers, the nineteenth the age of apostles and prophets. To satisfy the nineteenth century, it is necessary to be the painter of the sixteenth, the writer of the seventeenth, the philosopher of the eighteenth; and it is also necessary, like Louis Blanc, to have the innate and holy love of humanity which constitutes an apostolate, and opens up a prophetic vista into the future. In the twentieth, war will be dead,—the scaffold will be dead,—animosity will be dead,—royalty will be dead,—and dogmas will be dead,—but man will live. For all there will be but one country—that country the whole earth; for all there will be but one hope—that hope the whole heaven. All hail, then, to that noble twentieth century, which shall own our children, and which our children shall inherit."

SPECIAL LEGISLATION, OR MORAL ENERGY.

(AN ABSTRACT.)

BY MRS. KATE GANNETT WELLS.

IT is the inequalities of life which still occupy the attention alike of the philanthropist and the legislator. Each generation bears in itself the curse of the preceding as it tries to throw off a little of the chrysalis into which it is born. Authority and freedom have been alternately invoked as the cure of evil. The slavery of a militant state of society slowly changed into the more beneficent slavery of industrialism with its features of guilds and apprenticeship. The power in both guilds and apprenticeships becoming oppressive from its personal character, authority was transferred from single masters to parliament, and coercive legislation took the place of the individual ruler. Now freedom is again being lost in the parental character of the government, which in England and Germany has already produced state socialism, and here in the United States is begetting special legislation; while labor unions and boycotts are repeating all the worst personal characteristics of the guilds of the middle ages. As special legislation has always been a forerunner of state socialism, it behooves us to inquire if such legislation is the patent cure for human ills. Because the power to rule is delegated by citizens' votes, none the less is the worker under regulation, and the freedom of the individual restricted, for it is said that two-thirds of all legislation is for personal ends.

Special legislation looks upon mankind as needing shelter and employment in order that the millenium may approach and considers itself as the most effective means of producing good citizenship.

That special legislation is to some extent necessary all agree, each one differing as to the point at which it shall stop. But to assert that special legislation is a short cut to health, wealth and happiness

is virtual relinquishment of the force of moral energy, of the personal power of applied religion.

Religion and legislation are two factors which have combined in the organization of society. One or the other has predominated at various times. To-day most attention is given to legislation as the unfailing remedy against evil. Yet are we not forgetting the universal, permanent curative effect of religion in watching the short-sighted, specific remedies of legislation?

Legislation has presented itself at recurring epochs as general or special. Whenever the tendency to special laws became defined, revolt followed. The sumptuary laws of Rome and Greece were the reflex of the lives of the citizens, but dismemberment ensued of both church and state. The papal power when it extended its domain into bulls and anathemas against personal life lost its grasp. Germany would choose its own bishops. Then came the war of the papal investitures. Holland would think as it pleased and the minuteness of Catholic and Spanish government brought insurrection. The Puritans were but the reflex of special English legislation, while they in turn so stood against the sun in America that special legislation cast its shadow from Massachusetts to Rhode Island.

Within the last century there have arisen certain tendencies which could be divided into three groups:

First—Towards communism, for under the alluring name of common welfare, communism has proceeded with autocratic strides into the innermost life of its members.

Second—Towards increasing stringency in sumptuary laws.

Third—Towards protection of the individual against corporate power.

This last tendency took special shape under what is known as the factory laws of England; sad, because of the necessity which produced them; sad, because of the initiative they gave to the short-sighted benevolence of personal legislation.

From these three tendencies has directly increased the brooding spirit of state socialism. It began in an honest desire to protect the masses, but it calls hard names to the conservative, and it makes use of glittering generalities which float well on processional banners and leave a curse in the hearts of those who bear them. The State proposes a change in masters and is itself to be the owner. Though much of the best legislation of England and Germany is due to it, it is, at its best, but a substitute for personal energy.

The essence of special legislation is the enactment of laws for individual or class interests. Each one wishes a law devised as remedy for his pet grievance. Churches, societies, monopolies, boards, officials, individuals, are tinkering legislation. In the Fifty-second Congress there were 16,658 bills introduced, and not one in thirty went to the President for his signature.

Whatever may be our conception of the powers and duties of the State, we should all desire that personal energy should be the maximum, and State protection the minimum force in the adjustment of ourselves to the universe. Let us look to ourselves, and not to the State for help, lest we destroy personal incentive and moral energy.

State ownership has indeed lessened individual ownership of capital and industry, but it also can be as provocative of unnecessary legislation as any amount of private enterprise. What we need to cultivate is moral responsibility to one's highest self. It is as weak to depend upon the State as it is to rely upon legislation alone for progress. Both are needed, but neither to the extent to which both are urged. All unnecessary restriction of individual liberty should be opposed, that mental and moral strength may be increased.

Weakly relying on legislation to accomplish for and in us what we have not energy to accomplish ourselves, we frame laws which are curiously specific. Illinois has long been famous for its special legislation. It wished a company formed for the detection of horse thieves. Maine wanted a breakwater built at Bar Harbor by Congress, for the benefit of wealthy yachtsmen. Maine grants a bounty for dead crows, but prohibits cigarettes to the same boys who shoot the crows. Indiana wished chairmen of committees on bills in third reading to be rewarded!

THE CONSIDERATION OF THE EIGHT HOUR LAW.

Why should adult labor be legislated? Even if eight hours gains certain hygienic advantages for the laborer he is not allowed the choice between them and overtime, if he wishes to work for extra pay. When labor was plainly excessive, regulation of time was necessary. But the eight hour agitation proposes to reduce all labor of various kinds to a common standard. Surely we want freedom of contract as well as freedom of thought. Adult men and women do not want interference with their ability to labor. Such prohibition is protection to the weak and interference with the strong. Women working for themselves or others have protested against this interfering

protection. When the bill of making eight hours a day's work for government employ  s came up, it was finally drawn so as to leave men free to work an extra hour for increased compensation if they saw fit to do so.

The weavers fine's bill is another recurring subject for legislation. Sunday labor! What legislation upon that? What shall be sold, eaten, done upon that day? The Bennett law of Wisconsin concerning compulsory education,—its provisions were disliked both by Catholics and by German Protestants. In Massachusetts the temperance people wish for legislation not only as to the subject but the methods of teaching it.

We want the abolition of bad laws, but not the enactment of beneficiary ones. Special laws handicap the evolution of events. The more numerous are the laws which make the State the channel of beneficence, the stronger grows the feeling that everything should be done for the citizen instead of by him. Paternalism is not the highest development of the State. The Magna Charta and Protestantism were the beginning of Individualism, and the highest social state is that where each man has the fullest liberty compatible with the liberties of others.

For the many reforms we each want, chief reliance should be placed upon private enterprise. We owe ourselves to the State, which owes us nothing unless we earn it. The early closing of shops, the sweating system must cease, because reform will begin with the individual buyer or employer. The State begins in the home. Chivalry is the force which shall look after the last man in the last line of labor. Women must not grudge dressmakers a headache, nor give old clothes for wages.

In our short-sighted benevolence and our philanthropic legislation and our medical excuses about heredity, we are weakening the power of personal will. No statute or common law will can ever accomplish what can only effectually be done by the slow forces of self-restraint and personal energy. Back of all state law lies personal law, regulating birth, "age of consent," education and employment. Personal energy is older than law and is a short cut to reform.

Let us lessen the mania for petition, which has become a by-word of reproach rather than a sign of wisdom. Let us each study the history of special legislation in our own State, and then, as individuals, do what we can to prevent its increase. In many States it is already lessened by constitutional provisions. In twelve States no

corporation can be created except under general law, and in thirteen others only municipal corporations and those to which no other law is applicable can be created by special act.

Personal moral energy, America's birthright, is to be each one's ancestral dowry, when individualism will become neither aggression nor egotism, but truest altruism. In the mania for centralization we forget the dynamite power of individualism. The unit is the center of progression; individual duty is moral gravitation. Not special legislation, not paternalism, but personal energy and morality, coupled with religious trust, shall be the bulwarks of the United States.

THE NECESSITY FOR MORE PEDIGOGY IN OUR COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.

BY MRS. FRANK STUART PARKER.

UNREALIZED possibilities of human development are the negative results which spring from ignorance of the laws of human growth.

The marvelous progress of the nineteenth century had its origin in the discovery and application of physical laws.

The world has been bound with iron; the East and the West have become neighbors; the heavy burden of perpetual drudgery has been lifted from mankind by labor saving machines. Chaos seems to be the immediate result of these sudden changes, wrought by a newer knowledge of law, but out of this chaos a better world is building. The truth that the universe is governed by immutable, invariable and loving laws is slowly invading the human soul and taking the place of superstition and myth, empiricism and obscurity. By a rule of human progress the best is the last. Material progress that brings money and fame has been quickly grasped and expanded. The laws of spiritual progress remain indefinite, and nebulous, in the full blaze of the results of material laws, found and applied.

In theory, we are willing to go to any length, but the practice lags tardily behind. That the human being, mind, body and soul, is developed to its full stature of character and spiritual power by the application of immutable laws, all will agree. That education is the realization of inborn possibilities, is a fact unquestioned. That there is a divine design manifesting itself in the human form through which eternal energy acts, and that the working out or realization of that design is the central duty of man to which all other duties are subsidiary and subservient, are generalizations which compel assent.

The science of education is the knowledge of the laws of human growth and a comprehension of the conditions which bring these into

their most complete and economical activity. To educate, means to present by design all the conditions for growth by the proper method and at the proper time. Thus the science of education embraces anatomy, physiology, anthropology and ethnology as its foundation; higher up it includes a knowledge of psychology and still higher, metaphysics, philosophy and religion; the absolute external condition of the development of the mind and soul is the result of all knowledge gained directly through the senses, or indirectly through symbols.

The organic conditions of human growth are determined by the nature, power and special functions upon which the external conditions act. The vista of human development opens out to the infinite; one glimpse brings that poverty of spirit which inherits the kingdom of heaven. Even to fancy that a teacher should in theory stand before a child, this little lump of animate clay with a song of immortality in its heart; to stand before this embodied eternity, with no intrinsic knowledge of its possibilities, laws and destiny; to stand there calmly confident that traditional empiricism will meet the needs and demands of this being whom God hath created a little lower than himself; to allow such a fancy to enter an intelligent mind is preposterous. All heartily agree that the teacher should know the child, should study the child, should gather all the wisdom of the past in regard to the child, should feel profoundly the infinite dignity of this "fruit of all the past, this seed of all the future."

But turn from the pure ideal that theory brings us, to the stern reality; the difference almost breeds despair. How many of the five hundred thousand men and women of America who exercise the sacred office of teacher, look at their pupils from the standpoint of the possibilities that lie latent ready for the divine energy to act under the divine aid of the inspired teacher?

No struggle in the history of the world holds more of real interest and profit than the history of the attempts to educate the masses. Imperfect and crude as these attempts have too often been, they have brought man to the one central question of the universe, the education of the little child. But we are here to look the situation squarely in the face, to see what must be done to arouse the people from their almost criminal indifference, not to the public school itself, but to the training of those who control the public school interests of this broad continent.

Normal schools and normal training have been the products of the attempt to educate all children, rich and poor, bond and free.

Universities, colleges, learned societies, have led the world in the higher education, and have fixed the standards and tests of erudition, but history proves most conclusively one thing, that our great institutions of learning never have originated any plan or impulse for professional education of teachers; on the other hand, they have steadily opposed and hindered the heroic struggle of the last fifty years to make teaching an honored profession. Not long ago, a president of one of the most prominent universities in America declared that there is no science of education; and that all that needed to be taught in this direction he could learn in two hours and a half.

Professional training has sprung from and has been promoted by the governments and peoples who have introduced public and free schools; and who have found by actual experience that their schools were wholly inadequate to their demands because of the lack of trained teachers. Universities have been led to establish chairs of pedagogy by the pressure of enlightened public opinion. The study of German, or more especially Prussian schools, is an interesting verification of this assertion. Frederic the Great, under the inspiration of Martin Luther, founded public schools to train in his sandy, marshy, barren kingdom, subjects that could meet and successfully cope with the powers of Europe, which strove to crush him. He soon found that trained intelligence is not the product of unskilled trainers. And out of this second necessity sprang Germany's magnificent system of normal schools. To-day in Germany, no untrained teacher can enter any school either public or private; there is a complete, well organized system of normal schools; and every university has a chair of pedagogy. Germany is now far beyond the question as to whether professional training is a necessity for teachers; the one point with them is how to improve and enhance such training. Horace Mann, the hero of the common schools of America, found the same necessity in Massachusetts when in 1837 he assumed the arduous duties of Secretary of the State Board of Education. The history of his grand battle for freedom is well known to you, how against almost insurmountable difficulties he founded the first normal school in America in 1839, near the old Lexington battle ground; how in 1842, he built the first house dedicated to the training of teachers at Bridgewater. The opposition he met was bitter and prolonged, and the most obstinate and bitter of all came from the untrained teachers them-

selves, already established in their positions as guides and leaders of the young.

It would exceed the limits of my time to discuss the opposition on the part of the people to the study of the science of education. Only a few factors can be here touched upon. Education in America is under the controlling domination of conventional forms perpetuated by tradition. The untrained teacher holds to these forms with a death-like tenacity; the people, the educational products of these fixed ideas, in general support the established teacher; and a profound indifference and unbelief on the part of the people generally in anything like a science of education is the disheartening result. A very common claim is made on the part of the better educated class that normal schools graduate pupils with a superficial skill in method, yet lacking woefully in knowledge of principles and in a broad culture. They affirm that it would be better for such candidates for the office of teaching, to take a thorough college course instead of one year in a normal school. The wisdom of this so-called argument is apparent; if such candidate could choose between a college education and a normal school course, there should be no hesitation—the college course is far preferable; but the truth is, that there is *no choice*; owing to the ease with which persons obtain positions as teachers, the choice really lies between a very inadequate education and a normal course, or a poor academic preparation and no professional training whatever. Out of three thousand five hundred teachers in Chicago, probably not one half ever finished the high school course. A demand for college graduates only, would close two-thirds of our schools.

In the United States the growth of the school system is purely democratic. There is no central authority to make ideal requirements. The best that can be done is the best that existing circumstances permit. Horace Mann found poorly educated, untrained girls, and still more imperfectly educated men, in charge of the schools of Massachusetts. The demand that Harvard, Amherst and Williams should furnish the common schools with teachers would have been, under the circumstances, absurd. Horace Mann was obliged to choose between no education worth the name and a very imperfect education of the normal schools coupled with a strong desire to teach well. He chose the latter and out of the feeble beginning in 1839 has grown the one hundred and thirty-two normal schools of the nation. In spite of the numerical gain, public opinion in regard to the

professional attainments of teachers is at best very far from a true ideal. The common schools furnished paying places for poor girls who struggled through one or two years in a high school, cram for an examination, pass it, and then put themselves in the hands of their friends. With this short line to success before ambitious youth, backed by unthinking, ignorant or unscrupulous partisans, any normal school that proposes to receive only college graduates would soon close its doors. But this difficulty is slowly and surely being overcome ; city training schools demand a diploma from high schools certifying to a four years course, and in Boston this is supplemented by the recommendation of the Principal of the school. The theory that teachers must have professional training has become a firmly established principle in the minds of all leading educators. The arguments for such training is indisputable. All agree that any work which is not mere imitation of fixed forms or copies, demands both theoretical and practical preparation, and it would be preposterous to claim that the most responsible work known to man is an exception to this plain rule.

The most determined and persistent opposition to professional training comes from a strongly organized body that do not believe in common schools. The belief in the public school is as firmly fixed in the hearts of the American people as their belief in a republican form of government. Nothing but a revolution could abolish them and even that could not. Francis Parkman is authority for the statement that the only way left for the organized enemies of the common school system to fight is to make private and parochial schools the successful competitors of the common schools, by keeping down the quality of the teaching to the lowest grade. This serves two purposes, it furnishes places for a large number of poorly educated young women and thus undermines the confidence in the public school system. Imperfect as the common schools are, they are generally better than other schools and Americanized parents will always send their children to the school which apparently does them the most practical good.

The battle for our system of schools is over and won ; the struggle for trained, skilled and devoted teachers is just begun ; the immediate work to be done is to arouse public opinion to a thoughtful discrimination between good and poor teaching. It is due to the lack of recognition on the part of our higher institutions that the average American looks with such indifference upon professional training.

Within 15 years, it is true, a few chairs of pedagogy in a few colleges have been established, but Harvard, Yale, Amherst and Brown remain still without them. The University of Missouri had the honor of leading in this direction; Michigan University followed; other colleges are slowly falling into line, and there is a growing appreciation of the need of some pedagogical training and study on the part of college faculties.

I repeat, the profound indifference of intelligent people generally is the main obstacle to educational progress. The question of the hour is how to change this indifference of the public to a lively and permanent and intelligent interest. All great modern reforms promoted and championed by women, prison reforms, compulsory education, women's rights and temperance have been remedial in nature. The reform of reforms is that reform which prevents vice and immorality; the reform which has for its aim the all sided harmonious education of children. Towards this center of true progress, all other reforms are slowly tending.

I have already referred to the growth of public sentiment in Germany in regard to the education and training of teachers. Under the philosophy of Fichte and Kant, the pedagogics of Pestalozzi and Froebel, and the broad national ideas of the Hohenzollern family, this sentiment was organized, perpetuated and developed until it has become a fixed principle in the minds of all the children of the Fatherland. Cousin states that in 1831, eight years before the first normal school was established in America, that there were 33 normal schools in the little kingdom of Prussia in full activity. With such a pressure from below, the universities soon recognized the value of pedagogics and founded chairs for lectures upon the science of education, so that in 1878, 47 years later, we find Prussia with an area less than the State of California, with 113 established normal schools.

The vast accumulation of knowledge in this country; the discoveries that have created or re-created all the natural sciences; the doctrine of evolution, which, true or not, has aroused and set in motion more of investigation and philosophical thought than any other subject since the world began; the change in historical methods from the compilation of conglomerated facts and fiction, to an inquiry into the evolution of the human race; the rich store house of literature, furnished at a cost within the reach of all; the daily press

with its evening and morning editions ; all these changes so mighty and far-reaching that the mind is incapable of appreciating them fully, are exercising a tremendous influence upon education. It is well to inquire in what way this influence is exercised.

From current discussion one might infer that books loaded with thought in some mysterious manner provide a royal road to learning, that the produce of the investigation of the past can now become the property of the child by the study of symbols ; that any observation of the energy acting through nature is no longer indispensable to human growth. One fact is beyond reasonable dispute, the laws and conditions of human development have not changed one jot or tittle since those vast treasures of knowledge were added to the wealth of mankind. Observation is just as necessary for the development of the human mind as it was a thousand years ago. The study of books has the same relation to intelligent development that it ever had. How then can the acquirements of the past be summed up? How can we comprehend just what advantage the child of to-day has over the child of one hundred years ago?

All true study of whatever kind is search for eternal laws ; all laws organic or inorganic are concentrated upon the highest laws, the laws of human evolution. The final demand is man and his relations to the all efficient energy which is still creating him. The relative value of every discovery is understood by its bearing upon, and its realization of higher possibilities for good and for growth.

Empirical education is founded upon obscurity and ignorance of law, but redeemed now and then by sparkling flashes of intuitional power. Ignorance of pedagogical laws gives chance in the presentation of conditions for human growth a tremendous advantage. Teaching is the presentation of those conditions at each and every stage of development, in the fitting quantity and quality which will induce the greatest economical activity in the direction of the higher growth of the individual to whom they are presented. The quality and power of the self activity aroused, determines the value of the teaching. Knowledge of pedagogical laws lessens the danger of mere experimentation.

The child and the man of to-day must work out his own salvation just as of yore ; no diminution of effort nor of struggle, either mental, moral, or physical is the result of past acquisitions. All that the past has brought, or indeed ever will bring us for education, is a deeper

insight into the laws and principles of human development ; more ample conditions for adaptation to that development ; and consequently the best rules of adapting knowledge to mental activity, or method. In other words, the science of education takes the place of ignorance, obscurity, empiricisms and simple intuition. Imperfect, useless and painful adaptations of knowledge are making way for the scientific presentation of conditions which induce a more complete, economical and harmonious action of all the faculties,

The zeal and zest of all studies are found in an appreciation of the function, use and application of the subject studied to life ; the study of anatomy, physiology, hygiene and pathology has for its goal the prevention of disease ; the study of law the prevention of crime ; of theology, the spiritual elevation of mankind. Philosophy, in which all other branches of study culminate, a study universally recognized by secondary education, has for its aim the improvement of the human family in every direction.

Thus it is easy to trace theoretically the concentration of all branches of study to one central purpose, the education of the child. For discipline and culture, that subject of study is the best adapted which is of the highest use to man. History is the study of the development or evolution of the human race through long ages. Its purpose is to discuss the laws of that evolution and to apply them in education. The essence of all history is the history of those human forces ever at work to elevate the masses by teaching and training. This is the history of education. Anthropology tells us the history and nature of the animal man ; ethnology his growth as a social, law abiding and law making being ; psychology at the summit, deals with the laws of mind and consciousness ; metaphysics explain the basis of those laws ; philosophy sums up the whole. Every subject is thus concentrated upon the science of human development.

From this point of view, the science of education is one of the most important culture studies and at the same time, it is one of the most useful ; for this reason, it should have a prominent place in all secondary schools. The history of education should be taught as the best and highest of all history. All the branches I have named except theology have an important place in the curriculum of most schools. Anatomy, physiology, science, history, anthropology, ethnology, psychology, philosophy ; why should not the direct application and use of all these branches have the highest place ? In fact what

is the need of a study of psychology unless it is to this end, its application to life?

Chairs of pedagogy should be established in all the schools for secondary learning, colleges, seminaries, and universities—not for the ostensible purpose of preparing candidates for teachers' positions, but to prepare men and women for the highest and noblest duties of life, for fatherhood and motherhood and citizenship. To-day our schools have incompetent teachers because the fiat has not gone forth from our great and powerful institutions of learning, as it has from the German universities, that the immortal souls of God's little ones must not be entrusted to the crude work of blundering novices. Let our universities fully recognize the science of education as an indispensable factor in culture and their influence would soon permeate the continent.

Next to the ignorance of the untrained teacher, stands the belief of the father and mother in the fixed forms of tradition as the most formidable obstruction to educational progress. A college educated father or mother who has studied the history of education, the philosophy and methods of Socrates, Ratsch, Comenius, P  re Girard, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebel, Mann and Quick would be educated in some degree to educate his or her own children or at least to use discrimination in the choice of a teacher. Add to the study of the history of education something of applied psychology in the form of pedagogics, and we have a man or woman fully equipped to do a work most needed in America to-day, to justly discriminate between good and bad teaching. A mother who does not know that sound philosophy has long ago utterly rejected the teaching of the names of letters as a preparation for learning to read, will oppose that teaching which seeks the better way; the same can be said of the methods of teaching spelling, technical grammar and geography.

Colleges cannot without special schools like those of law and medicine fully prepare candidates for the profession of teaching, but they can, by establishing chairs of pedagogy,

(1st.) Put their broad stamp of approval upon the public weakling of the professions, the science of education.

(2d.) They can turn many a young man from the already over filled professions of law and medicine to the more important profession of teaching. The proportion of men to women as teachers in the United States has become very one sided, equipoise demands more

men. It is a fact that not one out of a hundred of the men now teaching deliberately chose pedagogy for their life work—they rather fall into it from the sheer weight of their marvelous learning. A professor of pedagogy inspired by his subject would point young men to the doors of normal schools, rather than to those of the schools of law and medicine.

(3d.) Such chairs of pedagogy would diffuse a professional belief in the science of education among the people.

(4th.) The influence of such chairs would revolutionize the teaching in the universities themselves.

One proposition indeed should commend itself to every mother's heart; every girl should take a thorough course in the principles and practice of the kindergarten. Compare if you please the relative value of conic sections and the nature of the child to the young mother; or a knowledge of the Sanscrit to the art of training little children. Conic sections and the Sanscrit have each a place in education, but should the highest and best a mother can know be entirely neglected? It is not necessary, in this presence, to speak of the vast importance of teaching and training in the child's earlier years; how before it enters school or even the kindergarten, its fundamental habits are formed and the general direction of its life fixed.

We, the women of America, can console ourselves with the reflection that we have had little to do with the defects in our schools and universities. The time of our influence upon education has just begun. The women of the North showed themselves worthy of consideration when they stood by their brothers upon the bloody battlefields of the great civil war. After the war the men were needed for manual labor and three hundred thousand women or more marched into the school room. Then the more thoughtful brother (?) gave her a place on school boards, and allowed her to vote for school directors. Progressive state universities then opened their doors and in went the young women. In almost every university where women studied, there was a demand for chairs of pedagogy, Missouri, Michigan and Wisconsin. The common school was woman's training for the grand warfare that closely followed. Every child knows of Woman's Suffrage, of the W. C. T. U. and of all the reforms that have followed one upon the heels of another. Permit me to say, ladies of the A. A. W., that the reform that you inaugurate, is nearer to the eternal

foundations than all the others. When the mothers of America begin, earnestly, thoughtfully and prayerfully, to study the child; when the great lesson of the Babe of Bethlehem comes home to mother's hearts; when the full dignity, responsibility and sacredness of motherhood is understood, when children are trained into the knowledge and obedience of the eternal laws of God, then and only then, will man arrive at his true place, "a little lower than the Angels." Then, perfect obedience and perfect freedom will be one.

THE DRAMAS OF HENRIK IBSEN.

BY MRS. ELLEN M. MITCHELL.

HENRIK Ibsen, who is considered by many the chief figure of European significance in literature to-day, was born in a small Norwegian town in 1828. His ancestry was German and Scotch, although he is characterized as "peculiarly Norse." His father was a wealthy merchant, but failed in 1836. As a lad, the young Ibsen worked as apprentice in a drug store, and by dint of struggle and self-sacrifice, was enabled to enter the University of Christiania. But he did not remain there long. In 1851 he was appointed "theater poet" of the Bergen stage, and, in the following year, manager. He thus came into relations with the stage at an early period of his life. To this he owes his technical mastery of dramatic composition.

He began to write early, but his work at first gained little recognition. These are the first lines of his first published drama, "Catiline," written at the age of twenty-one: "I must! I must! so a voice urges me from my soul's depth—and I will follow it, for I own strength to better things, and courage unto a something higher than this life."

Passing over his early productions, I shall speak of *Brand*, a dramatic poem, published in 1866. *Brand*, the Northern pastor, is the embodiment of will and idealism. He confronts the prevailing spirit of compromise with his inexorable "all or nothing," and, as the champion of individuality, leads the fight against temporal and spiritual conventionality. But, at the close of the poem, we find him alone in the ideal church that he has built, desolate because he realizes that this, too, is but a compromise and can not meet the requirements of that which he has to teach. Here lies the tragedy of his destiny, that with his passionate craving for completeness and thoroughness, he has himself bowed down to the spirit of compromise. He locks the door of the church, and throws the key into the river. The gospel that

Brand embodies, is the gospel of defeat. "The tragedy of Brand is the tragedy of the categorical imperative," says a recent writer in the *Atlantic Monthly*.

In the following year, 1867, Peer Gynt appeared, a striking antithesis to Brand. "In Brand, we have the Norwegian nation as it should be," says one of his countrymen; "in Peer Gynt, we have the Norwegian nation as it is." Peer Gynt is an egotist with colossal ambition that he is too weak to realize. "It's last lesson," according to Mr. Ellis, "is the failure of an over-mastering imagination and weak will to attain the love that alone satisfies." Another critic describes it as a picture of man, struggling, erring ever, seeking for deliverance; and declares that "it bears most distinctly upon its forehead the mark of our age."

In one passage of Peer Gynt, Ibsen satirizes the manner in which the higher education of women is undertaken by the ordinary masculine mind. Disguised as a prophet, the hero visits an Arab settlement and is attracted by the daughter of a Bedouin chief. She has been dancing and he is so delighted that he promises to make her an angel in Paradise. But she calmly informs him that this will be impossible as she is without a soul. Peer Gynt answers that she can easily obtain a soul as he is sure from the size of her skull that there is plenty of room for one. Whereupon she replies that she does not care for a soul; what she would really like to possess is the beautiful jewel in his turban. Peer Gynt, enraptured, gives it to her, exclaiming: "Anitra! You Mother Eve's natural daughter! I'm drawn as by magnets, for I'm a man," and as it stands in a much revised author, "*Das ewig weibliche zieht uns an.*" There is a sense of justice in the fact that this soulless young lady disappears afterward with the money and the horse of Peer Gynt.

In 1864, when Norway and Sweden failed to stand by Denmark against Prussia and Austria, Ibsen left his home, and has not since had a permanent abiding place. He has dwelt alternately in Italy, in Dresden, in Munich and in Berlin. He is a solitary man, separated from his people without any activity that binds him to an institution or a party. Life, for him, is in the world of thought, rather than in social intercourse; he believes that solitude alone enables one to attain charms of vision and fulness of power.

Passing over "Emperor and Galilean," and other works, I shall proceed to the consideration of his more recent productions, the Social Dramas, which he himself regards as his chief title to remem-

brance. They are a keen criticism of the social life of the present, whose chief defect, to him, is the lack of individuality. Prince Kropotkin, in a recent article in "*The Nineteenth Century*," says: "Morality is good on the lips, not in deeds. Our preachers say, 'who works, prays,' and everybody endeavors to make others work for himself. They say, 'never lie,' and politics is a big lie. And we accustom ourselves and our children to live under this double-faced morality, which is hypocrisy, and to conceal our double-facedness by sophistry. Hypocrisy and sophistry become the very basis of our life. But society cannot live under such a morality. It cannot last so; it must, it will be changed." This is the conception at the basis of Ibsen's social dramas, it is with this hypocrisy that he deals.

In the first that appeared, "*The Pillars of Society*," we have Consul Berwick, the liberal-handed benefactor of his native town, one of society's stoutest pillars. But the aim of his work for others is selfish; to win power and consideration for himself he conceals beneath a decorous exterior a shameful position of double dealing. Finally, through the courage and candor of a woman, whom he had formerly deserted, and who, knowing the lie that he was living, resolved that the hero of her youth should stand free and true, he is brought to acknowledge his guilt, and to declare that "women are the pillars of society." "No, no," replied this brave woman, "the spirits of Truth and Freedom, these are the Pillars of Society."

Ibsen attacks all forms of human weakness with unsparing satire, but it is the men who suffer most. One finds in his works a continually increasing faith in woman. He seems to think that in their development lies the chief hope of society, that they must have room to expand and grow. "Mere democracy cannot solve the social question," he says, "an element of aristocracy must come into our political life, into our government, into our representation, and into our press. Of course, I am not thinking of the aristocracy of birth, or of the purse, or even of the intellect. I am thinking of the aristocracy of character, of mind, of will. It is that alone which can make us free." For this aristocracy of character, he looks to women as his chief hope. He did not at first favor woman's emancipation, and regarded with distaste the arguments of John Stuart Mill in "*The Subjection of Women*." Mill's statement that he owed much in his writings to his wife, appeared ludicrous. "Only fancy what it would be to read Aristotle or Hegel," said Ibsen, "and not know whether we were following the thoughts of Mr. or of Mrs. Aristotle, of Mr.

or of Mrs. Hegel." He illustrates frequently the selfish use that is made of woman by a certain type of man. In Love's comedy, the hero, Falk, says to Ivanhild :

" I, like the bird whose name I bear, must rise
Against the wind, if I would near the heights,
You are the breeze I may be cradled in,
With you my wings will first win strength to carry."

The heroine replies :

" You look on me, as children on a reed
They cut into a flute to last a day."

Falk—" Yes, better that than standing in its swamp
Till autumn, with grey fogs to smother it.
You must ! You shall ! Your duty lies in that,
To give to me the wealth God gave to you,
That which you only dream, in me takes form.
Deceive me not ; sing to me as a bird—
For every song my life shall give to you a poem."

Ivanhild replies :

" And when you know me, when my mind's a void,
And I have sung my last song from the bough,
What then ?"

The " Pillars of Society " was followed by two plays, which have given rise to a whole literature of comment, favorable and unfavorable, " A Doll's House," and " Ghosts." Ibsen's fundamental principle made him apply to women the same measure of individuality that he applied to men ; he could not therefore regard it as her supreme destiny to merge herself wholly in the being of another. We find the germ of " A Doll's House," as far back as Peer Gynt, where the hero says to Anitra :

" Every inch of thee I'd see
Devoted utterly to me.
'Tis a fine thing, on the whole,
That so empty is thy head ;
Thou mightst think at times instead.
I have hit on just the thing—
Yes, believe me, thou shalt go
With thine ankle in a ring—
For us both, 'tis best 'twere so ;
I will be thy soul, thy king."

Nora, in " A Doll's House," does not hesitate at forgery to spare her father and to save her husband's life ; to her the action is

praiseworthy. She cannot believe that it is criminal. When Helmer says, "No one sacrifices honor for love," she replies, "That is what thousands of women have done." Unlimited devotion to a man like Helmer is dangerous to individuality; Nora cannot become a human being, she is and must remain a doll. Helmer is her will and conscience; she thinks as a child, she is treated as a child. Things go fairly well so long as Nora admires and trusts her husband unconditionally; but the day when she realizes for what sort of a man she has sacrificed herself, brings to her a crisis; she is forced to choose between absolute self-surrender and self-assertion. "You are before all else a wife and mother," says Helmer. "I am before all else a human being," replies Nora, and she breaks the bond put upon her by marriage. This has called forth much adverse criticism. What Ibsen wants most of all is to make people think and see for themselves. He draws a picture of a typical household, places them in a series of situations which develop character and suggest large questions of conduct. Nora adopts a course consistent with her individual nature and circumstances. The object is to make people thoroughly realize the problem, not to force upon them this particular solution.

"Ghosts," says a recent writer, "stands in a sort of complimentary relation to 'A Doll's House.' It is the tragedy of heredity, and is terrible reading." One critic says of this play, that it is a rift into a hell more awful than Dante's or Milton's, a hell built up round us day by day, with our own hands, for ourselves and our offspring. "This play brings home to the heart and the conscience," says a recent writer in the *Atlantic Monthly*, "the predestination of the guiltless to damnation through heredity. It is Calvinism, the implacable law of descent for the arbitrary will of God."

The critics shrank back in alarm from the abyss of horror which "Ghosts" revealed. The universal indignation that it awakened was in part a testimony to its truth. Ibsen's reply to indignation and criticism was a new play, "An Enemy of Society." Dr. Stockmam, presiding over a bath establishment in a small Norwegian town, discovers that the source which supplies the water is poisoned. Upon this there follows opposition, desertion, and indignation. The situation is analogous to that of Ibsen himself, in the storm aroused by "Ghosts." Dr. Stockmam, like Brand, Nora and other creations of Ibsen, ends in isolation; but isolation here is not flight from society. He abandons this idea, he stands by his post to win followers to his

side and renew the conflict. "Here is the battlefield; here shall the combat take place; here will I conquer."

"After the fire that has blazed up in 'An Enemy of Society' had subsided," says Jaeger, "a sort of despondency seemed to settle upon Ibsen. What was the use of it, after all? Were men really capable of adopting the ideal standards of his work? Did their condition, on the whole, make it possible to live lives of truth and freedom?" "The Wild Duck" is a product of Ibsen's despondency, the saddest and most pessimistic drama that he has written. It was followed by "Rosmersholm," written to extol the opposite of selfishness, self-sacrificing love. The woman is here the superior of the man in intellect and will; she leads and he follows. But he is superior to her in purity and nobility of character, and so leads her to "the strong love which is able to renounce." "In Rosmersholm we have a product of the old and out-worn civilization that weakens both view and will," says a recent critic. "His view can be emancipated, but his will is weak and must remain so. In 'Rebecca' we have a product of unsophisticated nature; her view is emancipated, and her will is strong, but does not become purified until too late. So both these representatives of an imperfect conduct of life must needs succumb, but over their bodies the play points to Ibsen's great and radiant dream of the future, his dream of the man with liberated mind and purified will."

"Die Frau am Mur," "The Lady of the Sea," is Ibsen's last play. Two men answer to two sides of Ellida Waugel's nature. One is a mysterious Finnish stranger, who fascinates her by his wild tales of freedom and of the sea. She renounces him and becomes the second wife of Dr. Waugel. The first man attracts her by a strange power over her will; to the second she turns as her friend and savior. Her lover comes back and claims her, though she is married to another. Instead of asserting marital authority, her husband leaves her free to choose. The miracle that Nora Helmer expected is wrought; the hypnotic spell is broken, and the lover exclaims: "Now, truly, I see there is something stronger than my will." Ibsen's thought seems to be that a woman must make the choice between two possibilities under a sense of responsibility and personal freedom. The choice made, she will be set free from inward strife, and turn to her home duties, with a devotion that she had never given them before.

Ibsen believes in the individual, the single great personality. In a letter to his friend, Brandes, is this passage: "The state is the

curse of the individual. How has the strength of Prussia been bought? By the sacrifice of the individual to the political and geographical idea. The *Kellner* is the best soldier. The State must away. That resolution shall find me on its side. Undermine the conception of the state; proclaim free will and spiritual kinship as the leading elements in the final settlement, and we shall be on the way to a freedom that will be worth something." Elsewhere he writes: "He who possesses freedom otherwise than as something for which he is striving, has a dead, soulless possession; for the idea of freedom bears that within itself which causes it to broaden and expand under appropriation, and if any one, during the struggle for its attainment, pauses and cries, now, I have it,—he proves thereby that he has lost it. Yet it is just this dead stand-still in a certain grade of freedom that is characteristic of the body politic." Ibsen is not a believer in external resolution. "What is needed," he says, "is a revolt of the human spirit." He is so independent that he would even dispense with friends.

"Friends are an expensive luxury," he says, "and he who invests his capital in a calling and in a mission in this life, has no means left wherewith to maintain friends. The cost of friends does not consist in what we do for them, but in what we have undone out of regard for them. For thus many intellectual germs are stunted in their growth."

"The strongest man upon earth is he who stands most alone."

This view of life is true, but one-sided. Society has a tendency to encroach upon the individual, to make a standard of the judgment of the majority, and to condemn those who do not recognize this standard. We are all inclined to follow a leader like a flock of sheep, without seeking for the reason within us which might bid us do otherwise. This is especially true of social usages and morality; that *they* do so and so, is enough to prevent *me*, the single individual, from doing otherwise. We acquiesce outwardly in what we inwardly disapprove; we are not brave enough to be thought singular and eccentric. Occasionally some one is born with a spirit of revolt against social shams and conventionalities, and if, like Carlyle and Ibsen, they are gifted with genius, that spirit finds its embodiment in literature. The protest is true, but it is one-sided; it is a protest of the spirit against form. But form is necessary; necessary in religion, in politics, in social life. We cannot divide the two, spirit from form,

the expression from the thought ; they are different sides of the same truth.

Ibsen would do away with the state because it cramps the growth of individuality, but believes in no revolution except one of the human spirit that shall lift men up into that atmosphere of true freedom where they do what is right because it is in accordance with the inner law of their own spiritual development. To be one's self, is not to be "self-sufficient ;" it is rather to renounce and sacrifice self for the love of others. Love is as necessary, as a corner-stone in the poetic edifice of Ibsen, as truth and freedom. His path has led not only straight forward, but straight upward, as "Rosmersholm" and "The Lady of the Sea" testify.

As a poet, he reflects the ideas of his age, and places before us in a vivid light the social problems that are everywhere the subject of thought and discussion. Have we realized the ideal conception of marriage that would base it solely upon mutual affection and responsibility, without checking the growth of individuality in either wife or husband ? Have we realized the ideal conception of the state where justice shall be done to every citizen, and he shall be left free to order his life in a way that shall best serve his interests as a human being with spiritual possibilities ? Have we realized the ideal conception of woman that shall leave her free to develop herself side by side with her fellow-man ? Have we realized the ideal conception of society which would make it human brotherhood in the highest sense, where what a man *is* would stand for more than what he *seems* ? Ibsen asks : he does not answer, nor can we, nor any prophet of our time. He incarnates the thoughts of the day and aids in their dissemination ; he waters them from the well-springs of his own emotional nature ; with true poetic insight he sees their spiritual significance. Gloomy as he is, he is not a pessimist. In his last drama, Ellida Waugel through the strength of her own personality releases herself from the power of another's will, which had held her captive. He touches here upon hypnotism in order to show the strength that lies in individual resolve, and individual responsibility.

The pessimism of Ibsen is moral, not metaphysical ; life itself is not an evil to him, as to Schopenhauer, and Von Hartmann. He finds men base, and he is indignant, because he is convinced that higher possibilities lie before them ; even his lack of sympathy springs from the fact that he believes in the educating power of suffering, that lives which are petty and narrow may become noble through

adversity. Pessimism as a philosophy proclaims the universality of human suffering, and the fruitlessness of human effort ; Ibsen, on the contrary, sees that every injury sustained is dependent on a wrong committed. The evil that he exhibits is moral, springing from the deeds of responsible human beings ; it is not metaphysical, the creation of a blind, unconscious force. If society is false and hollow, it is men who have made it so, and it is men who can breath into it the spirit of freedom and truth.

Ibsen believes in the minority, the "remnant" of Matthew Arnold, that minority which is the advance guard in the forward march toward a goal. The majority is not yet in a condition to attain.

His friend, Brandes, tells us that he is familiar with two expressions in Ibsen, one in which his kind, delicate smile penetrates and animates the mask of his countenance, in which all that lies deepest in his soul rises uppermost ; another in which impatience, anger, righteous indignation, cutting scorn, impart to his face a look of almost cruel austerity. The last is the expression he most frequently assumes before the world. He is not loved in Norway, like his contemporary and brother-poet, Björnson. Björnson has been compared to the Norwegian summer, with its warmth and fragrance ; Ibsen to the Norwegian winter with its gloom and severity. But Ibsen to-day belongs to Europe, Björnson to Norway. The daring of the Norse Vikings is in both ; their cruelty is in Ibsen. The ideas that to him are of actual worth must be accompanied by suffering. He ruthlessly probes our wounds, but offers no healing remedy, because he believes that the pain itself is the first step towards a cure. Harsh and grim as he is, no other could have done his work, or made so accurate a diagnosis of our social ailments. In spite of his gloom he is not hopeless ; he discerns the higher possibilities as well as the weakness of human nature.

THE STUDY OF AMERICAN HISTORY.

BY MRS. KATE TANNATT WOODS.

MANY years ago that genial and progressive scholar, Professor Agassiz, wrote that America was first born among the continents. Skeptical and conservative people, and not a few scholars, scoffed at the statement, as they had done in times past at the utterances of Galileo, but scientific research has *more* than confirmed the wisdom of both men. However students may differ as to dates, all agree that we are indeed the "Old World" and not the "New."

The records mis-called "history" which we pored over in childhood must be re-written in the light of present events. Our children are still taught to repeat the old, old story of the past, with here and there slight alterations. A little has been done by generous women and devout scholars, but the sorrowful fact remains that children born on our great American Continent know far more of Greece and Rome than of the land which should be so dear to them, and is so full of marvellous records waiting for interested readers. Recent developments all point to a period of our history when a high state of civilization was reached, after which came a partial relapse into barbarism. Whatever doubt may be thrown upon this or that theory, the incontrovertable fact remains that we have upon our own Continent ruins which equal any in Egypt, ruins so marvellous with their carvings, idols, temples, and inscriptions, that our most expert students of archeology and philology gaze upon them in awe and wonder. The ancient cities of America, eighty of which have now been discovered, are indeed the wonder of the nineteenth century. There is an old German proverb which tells us that "Truth is only attained after repeated tumbles on the rocks of error." We dwellers upon this Continent have taken, alas! many tumbles and must I fear, take many more, before we reach the truth concerning our own history. This search for truth must cover our entire Continent, it must include not only the buried cities

of Central America, but the famous "garden beds" covering all our Northwestern territory, and the work of the "Mound Builders." It stretches from shore to shore and includes every foot of ground from the extreme North to the farthest Southern point of land. After our numerous "falls upon the rocks of error" let us rise good naturedly and accept with thanks the latest developments concerning our pre-Columbian History. We must do even more; our bones are not broken, our nerves are still firm, and although we are a trifle stunned, and a little dazed by the tumble, and the iconoclastic treatment of old cherished idols let us join hands and push on bravely in search of Truth. The present indifference shown concerning our pre-historic civilization, is wholly unworthy of our nineteenth century civilization. Our time, money, and enthusiasm, have been largely expended upon distant lands and honored students in them, while our marvellous ruins are but partially explored, and our students are crying aloud for recognition and assistance. The brief time allotted me in this paper forbids more than hurried mention of the marvellous discoveries made upon our Continent, and an earnest plea for a deeper, and more extended interest in the work of exploration, and the suitable study of American History.

Ralph Waldo Emerson once said: "It is inevitable that we are indebted to the past, we are fed by it, and formed by it, and cannot overstate our debt to it." Let us look for a few moments at this past to which we are indebted. Nearly five centuries before Columbus re-discovered America the Northmen came to our shores. Every intelligent child knows, or should know, that the Northmen were descendants of a race that migrated from Asia and went north to what is now known as the kingdom of Denmark, from thence they journeyed to Norway and Sweden, and afterward colonized Iceland and Greenland. About 860 a Dane of Swedish descent told the Northmen of an island he had discovered which he named for himself, later on this name was changed to Snowland and still later to Iceland. In the famous book of records found in Iceland called the "Landanama Book" abundant proof is found of the journeys made by these people. These Icelanders it would seem, had a perfect genius for conquest and colonization; indeed, they were quite as fond of travelling as the Americans of our day. In the year 935 there was born in Norway a man whose name will evermore be associated with all records of our Continent, Eric the Red. He seems to have been an Ishmael with his hand against every man for he is twice banished for manslaughter

and flees to Iceland ; here, he also attacks and slays a fellow mortal and is outlawed. He sails away and discovers Greenland which he names. Later on, we find him returning to Iceland and again sailing for the land he had discovered with a fleet of thirty-five ships only fourteen reaching their destination. This voyage was probably about the year 985. In 999 (the alliteration will enable the most inveterate hater of dates to remember it) Eric sailed to Norway and there spent the winter in preparation for the journey which he again took. Leif, the son of Eric sailed to Norway where he spent the winter, and in the following spring sailed again to Greenland taking with him a priest and some missionaries. The runic stone which Capt. Parry discovered in 1824 is a valuable relic proving beyond doubt or cavil, this Icelandic occupation of Greenland. The numerous Icelandic voyages to America are confirmed by the valuable manuscripts once supposed to be lost, but now in the library at Copenhagen. It was a wise custom of the Northmen to preserve their family histories by committing them to memory, and also by recounting their deeds in song. They not only sang old songs, but improvised new.

Permit me to give a few lines from a poem called the "Lay of the Haferdingar" for which I am indebted to De Costa's charming book called : "The Pre-Columbian Discovery of America." This work to me seems invaluable to all cultivated people and especially, to every dweller upon American soil.

" May He whose hand protects so well
The simple monk in lonely cell,
And o'er the world upholds the sky,
His own blue hall, still stand me by. "

Could a modern poet better express the faith and trust of the Christian ?

Our obligation to these Northmen, is a debt upon which, the interest remains to be paid. Shall we not do them tardy justice ? They are described as energetic, industrious, brave seamen, and generous to others while exceedingly tenacious to their own rights. Eric the Red, with all his pugnacity, had a tender side to his nature which we must not overlook. He doubtless repented of his sins as he did of his hostility to the priest, for we learn that he was baptized. What dweller upon American soil can ever read the Icelandic records without eager delight, and sincere gratitude not only to those hardy Northmen but to the faithful scholars who have placed

such admirable translations in our hands? We stand with the Northmen where they stood, we sail away with them to seek new lands, we endure their hardships and enjoy their hospitality, we smile at their superstitions so closely resembling some of our own of much later date, we attend their weddings and their Yule feasts, their burials and betrothals, and we sigh a little as we learn that in the far away years which we love to read of and dwell upon, men quarrelled over land and gold even as men do now. Humanity in 982 was as human as in 1890.

There is a tender side to these pictures which must appeal to us. When the enthusiastic Lief entreated his father to go with him on a voyage of discovery the old man hesitates and demurs, but finally yields despite the age which he considers a barrier. He mounts his horse to ride away to the sea and when it stumbles and hurts a foot, the old man says plaintively "It is destined that I shall never discover more land than this of Greenland." Lief sails away in his own vessel with thirty-five men, and they see many points of land, and at last reach our shores, where they land and find grapes and wheat. After their long voyage it is no marvel to us that they named it "Vinland, the Good." Again we read of Lief's going home, of the old father's death, the father, who was once, yes, twice banished, now mourned and respected; of the brother's visit to our shores, and of the burial of Thorvald here. Thorstein another brother comes for the body bringing with him his wife Gudrid to whom we owe another debt. She it was, who was rescued from a rock in the ocean, that ocean once regarded with such dread and called the "Sea of Darkness," she became a widow and was married to the brother of her rescuer. We are glad to find something of this woman in the Icelandic records, we learn that she was of good outward appearance, and was knowing, and knew how to behave among strangers. When her husband becomes discouraged in his attempts to find Vinland, Gudrid entreats him not to turn back, and cheers and sustains him by her courage. Later on the husband dies and Gudrid marries for the third time and fulfills the prophecy concerning her that "she shall be the mother of brave men and become famous." There is another woman whose picture we will look upon for a moment that of Freydis the daughter of Eric, who was called "haughty and proud and whose husband was but a mean man." That she was courageous we know, and also that she was wise to make money and became rich. There is some encouragement in this to the women of the present day, who in spite

of ancient history and the records of courts, are still held to be ignorant of business or deficient in shrewdness. Even the Northmen knew something of the much vexed question of the tariff, and we linger over their stories of trading with the natives found upon our shores, and seem to see the "red cloth which was exchanged for skins and furs." The natives were clearly not Indians, being small in stature and wholly unlike the Red men we are accustomed to see or hear of. Their boats with queer sails were by no means the canoes of our own Indians.

We might linger for hours among all this fascinating record but we close the precious volumes of Kingsborough, Baron Waldeck, and of many noted scholars and hasten with electric speed to the buried cities of America. We find ourselves almost overwhelmed with the numerous works upon the subject, and at first, a little confused by tradition and rumor. Theory and fancy, fiction and impressions must give place in our search for truth to the actual work of genuine explorers who have nearly sacrificed their lives in establishing the historical records. In 1839 it was the good fortune of John L. Stevens, an eminent scholar and experienced traveller, to be sent on a special mission by President Van Buren to Central America. Mr. Stephens took with him an accomplished artist Mr. Catherwood, and as soon as circumstances and the unsettled condition of the country would permit, made his way to the buried city of Copan. The hardships he endured are merely hinted at in two volumes which we are permitted to enjoy. Even Humboldt had never seen the ancient cities if he had heard of them. Mr. Stephens not only visited Copan but made at great expense and trouble most careful and accurate drawings and measurements. His work was pioneer work and can never be depreciated by the superficial reports of more recent travellers, men or curio hunters. With a wealth of courage which was unlimited, and but few implements; surrounded by ignorant and disagreeable natives, Mr. Stevens toiled on. Here he says "we found monuments equal to the finest in Europe and hieroglyphics still defying the skill of the ablest scholars." Finding himself hampered by the people near him, Mr. Stephens resolves to venture upon a gigantic speculation. He determines to purchase the entire city; this he finally succeeds in doing, after paying for the deeds and this ancient American city the modest sum of \$50. Copan as many of you know is in the section of country called the State of Honduras, one of the most fertile valleys of Central America. The engravings made from Mr. Catherwood's

drawings are extremely fine, and some of the altars are found to be decorated with oriental designs. Our explorer says : "Of the moral effect of the monuments themselves, standing as they do in the depths of a tropical forest strange in design, different from the work of any other people, their purposes and history so entirely unknown, with hieroglyphics explaining all and yet unintelligible I shall not pretend to give an idea." "The fact that these marvels were not mentioned by Spanish historians is accounted for by the illiterate condition of the people, by their eagerness for gold, and their desire to keep all discoveries to themselves lest others should share the profits."

Leaving Copan and its beautiful and singular temples we will now turn to another city sometimes called the "Pompeii of America" I refer to Uxmal. Ancient Thebes in all its glory scarcely rivalled it and yet it was discovered by accident if there can be accident in a world like ours. The story of the discovery of Uxmal reads like a tale of romance. Don Yegros, a Yucatan planter with his guest, a Scotch surgeon, Dr. Mitchell, being overtaken by a storm while hunting are guided by an Indian wood chopper to a temple in the forest, this in November 1828. They find some ancient masonry covered with dust and cobwebs, and after some difficulty the Scotchman discovers bas-reliefs and hieroglyphic inscriptions upon the stones. The Spanish host and the guide are amazed to see his enthusiasm, and marvel much as he digs and delves among the debris. They are still more surprised when he says "my countrymen would buy these stones for their weight in silver." The guide tells them he can show them still finer ruins, "and soon after guides a party to a shrouded Pompeii rivalling Thebes and Persepolis in beauty and grandeur," which but for the rainstorm might have slumbered still in its forest shroud. The Scotchman returns to Sisal and there meets Baron de Waldeck the French traveller, and together they return to the ruins. Baron Waldeck's writings upon the subject can now be found in most scientific libraries. The ghost-fearing natives assert that "the Great Spirit was never properly worshipped in Uxmal, and when his patience was exhausted he turned the entire population into stone and confined them in one of the buildings known as the "'House of the Dwarf.'" Statutes, terraces, paved courtyards, a tennis court and numerous carved columns are here found. The Superintendent of an open air museum here, now boasts that he has hieroglyphics enough to roof the largest building in Yucatan, and the excavations are still going on. The road to the buried city was almost impassible, until after many delays

and considerable outlay an American engineer was appointed to build a carriage road there. The skeletons found in this ancient city point to a race larger than any now existing there. The antiquity of these buried cities has not been determined; Felix Oswald, and Mr. Stephens differ from De Charnay who seems to describe the ruins as they now appear after being rifled by human hunters, but the early explorers who found the ruins after much tribulation will it is to be hoped, still be considered the *best* authority. Oswald says: "Neither the descent of man nor the purpose of the Pyramids, is shrouded in deeper mystery than the origin of these ruins."

With this hurried glance at our past, giving but a hint of the wonders of this our Old World, what is our duty regarding the study of American History? Shall we not revise, enlarge, correct and improve our records that our sons and daughters may know more than we can ever know of this Continent?

From Florida to Canada, the American soil is strewn with entrenched earth works, and everything points to a period, when the arts and manufactures not only flourished here, but were divided and subdivided. Who were the men and women then engaged in them? Not "red men," nor "brown men" and their name is unknown to us, unless with the broad comprehension born of much investigation, and study, we call them as Professor Putnam does "The Early American Races." One thing has been made clear to us, that the buried cities of Central America, the "garden beds" of the North and West, and the Mound Builders, tell us not of one race but many. The works of Stephens, and Oswald, of De Costa and of Kingsborough, and Waldeck all confirm us in the belief that one of the first duties of Americans is, to study their own continent and to become familiar with the past. This work of research is especially adapted to women. They are quick to perceive, patient and persevering, eager to do justice, and active in all educational work. I am told that some women do not care for History. Let them once read the history of Uxmal, and the fascination and charm which thrills all who know aught of it however imperfectly, must inspire them. History is many sided; find but the bone of a little finger and straightway you must know something of the hand; when it moved, how it worked, when, and where. Pick up but a fragment of carved stone and rest will not come to you, until you have placed it geologically and in its relative, artistic development; find upon one of the stones the stars, and you cannot slumber until you know what was then known of astronomy,

place your finger upon the cooking vessels and straightway you begin to marvel about the people who ate the root of the lily of the valley and called it, "Swan Potatoe." Discover a peculiar color of paint and you have opened a treasure house of progressive art, the door which will never close again upon you; draw one picture of the ancient decorations and evermore carvings and scrolls will be an unlimited library; find the flora on one moss grown temple, or examine a tree, crowding out the stones so strangely carved and still so superbly strong after thousands of years, and all the wealth and resources of botany unfold like myriad flowers before you.

The study of History touches every conceivable science, and unfolds every known art. For this reason, I would encourage it; for this I would plead with women for themselves, and their children, that we make it in Clubs, in our schools, and in our *homes*, the marvellous influence it should be; for this I would have it written, and spoken, painted and engraved until the smallest child should know the grand truths of our mighty past. "History," says Sir Walter Raleigh, "hath triumphed over time, which beside it, nothing but Eternity hath triumphed over."

THE PRACTICAL USES OF PHILOSOPHY.

BY MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE.

THE practical uses of philosophy I consider to be two-fold. First, the exercise of the mental faculties, through which alone an understanding of philosophical methods can be attained, sharpens and disciplines the brain instrument, the mental tool which we therein employ. Second, the proper use of this tool, taken with the knowledge of what others have done with its aid, establishes for us data of judgment and experience which are solid and lasting, and from which there is no going back.

In thus laying down the uses of philosophy I am not forgetful of the abuses which are inseparable from these. I, myself, dread several sorts of philosophizing, and there are some great masters of metaphysical statement and theory into whose hands I can no more consent to deliver my defenceless soul, than I could consent to place my body, helpless and passive, in the hands of some skilful vivisectionist who should undertake, after cutting and carving it according to his theory, to restore it to the world in a better condition than that in which he found it.

The evils attendant upon metaphysical study are first, the great demand which it makes upon the enduring power of the brain, and the dangerous exhaustion which follows prolonged labor of this sort. Second, the imitative action of the brain itself which, on becoming forcibly impressed with the recorded action of another brain, presumably its superior in power and energy, may tend to reproduce indefinitely the action of that master brain, and never recover its natural spontaneity and power of origination. So the Sophists of Greece made their pupils Sophists, like themselves. Mediæval schoolmen and modern Jesuits introduce an artificial mode of thinking and of judging whose logical correctness, founded on a limited knowledge which refuses to entertain any view contradictory to those which it has already adopted, has often availed and still avails to

make the partial truth efficient in the perpetuation of falsehood and error.

"Call no man master," is perhaps a good precept to take with one in starting on the quest for justified rules of reason, which are the most important results to be hoped for from philosophical study. As you proceed, return always from what has been shown you to what you yourself are able to see. Until you can state the new metaphysical formulas in plain language of your own you do not possess them. Until you can find for them some application in your own life and that of the people who surround you, you have not used them. What is more tiresome than the talk of a neophyte who has mastered the phraseology of some system of philosophy, and who unknowingly uses it as a jargon to conceal his own poverty of thought? I sometimes hear disquisitions which I can only liken, in homely comparison, to a feed of bran. The chaff has been carefully collected, —the grain being heavier, has been allowed to fall and has not been gathered up.

I will amend the precept which I gave just now, and which is only half of what St. Paul really says. I will say, "Follow the man who makes you think for yourself, whose frank and fearless method calls out at once the reverence of your soul and the rational energy of your own mind." You may walk with old Socrates through the streets of Athens. The greatest of philosophers, he is not thinking of his own system at all, but of how he can help other people,—keep the Sophists from sophisticating the youth of Greece, keep Alcibiades and his like, if such exist, from the debauch of license, from the shallow delusions of popular idolatry, illustrate in his own life and fate the high belief which he has taught, nay, which has emanated from him in his daily deeds and words. He will make of you no slavish follower, but will point you the way to intellectual freedom.

You may trust yourself with Kant in Königsberg. His three questions: "What can I know? What should I do? What may I hope?" most happily combine the speculative with the practical. In his study of the sources and methods of human cognition he delivers to you the metes and bounds of man's intellectual domain. He makes it clear that there are some things which you cannot know, some ways of attempting to pursue knowledge which, though wandering widely, lead no whither. But see how great are his answers to his questions! What can I know? Thoughts great enough to fill eternity—What should I do? Honorable service which shall employ the days of your

earthly life—What may I hope? All that is implied in the noble promise of your moral nature. Is not this enough?

I do not count the Mystics such good company as the Practics,—allow me the word. But you can find in Spinoza a religious fervor which dissolves the ossified channels in which religious custom and tradition run, with subtle criticism and profound analysis,—an uplifting sense of the immanence of the eternal life in the life that now is, of God in nature and in man. And you may find in Swedenborg the noble doctrine of uses. The worst devils in his hells are those who can argue equally on both sides of a question; those who, intellectually quick of apprehension, have no abiding, honest affection of their own. And in his great hierarchy of the heavenly domain, the crowning glory belongs to those spirits whose aim it has been to serve the best interests of their fellows.

The procedures of metaphysical demonstration are very costly, both of time and of brain effort. They have a fundamental necessity corresponding to that of mathematical processes in determining questions of dimension and relation. Every individual mind is not obliged to go through with these processes, but it is exceedingly important for the health and safety of the public mind that the true principles of metaphysical induction shall be established and everywhere made available. Logic may be called the mathematics of thought. Though the heights of both these sciences are such as overtask the human intellect, it is yet true that the humblest, homeliest life, in order to rise above the chaos of animal impulse, requires to regulate itself in accordance with the principles of both. Speculative literature is full of daring departures from the concatenation of logical statement. If this concatenation were not jealously guarded somewhere, mankind would not only run into all sorts of falsities, but would not return from such wanderings to regain the normal point of departure. This precious archive of right judgment is doubly guarded, by the popular affection, on the one hand, and by the saints and heroes of philosophy on the other.

At intervals in the intellectual history of mankind, divagations become such that the original standard of correct thought has to be urgently vindicated, and theories must be made to stand or fall by it. The greatest merit of a book like "Robert Elsmere" is that it makes a forcible popular presentment of the illogical character of much of the ancient religious belief and teaching. The data of information are changed. The aspect of history itself has been metamorphosed

by the great gains made in the last hundred years in the understanding of language, of psychology, of physical science. Ecclesiastical authority would ignore all this, would have its world continue to reason upon the basis of what was known or supposed to be known in days far distant. Theodore Parker's preaching was in this sense, invaluable. He had the rare power of popularizing the conclusions of a right philosophy. He had the courage to present these, year after year, while his deeper religion was called atheism, his more exalted morality, offence against law and order.

On other ground, but with the same view, that of rectifying popular error and of bringing the intellectual affection of the public to the test of a rational and consistent logic, Mr. Martineau, in his advanced age, has found it necessary to present to the world a thorough study of religion founded upon an examination of the systems of philosophy which, either as things of the immediate present or of the near past, rule the world of thought to-day. This very difficult and often thankless task has to be gone through with, in the interest of religion, which involves the highest interests of humanity. The "*credo quia impossibilis est*," — "I believe the doctrine because it is impossible," — will not answer to-day when the ground of rational and liberal belief is open to all men. The *credo* of the American Republic; "We believe these things to be self-evident, that all men are born free and equal, and endowed with the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," — this is the belief which embodies the work that Christianity has already done, and has yet to do in the world — "All men," yes, honored fathers, and all women too; though you forgot or deemed it unnecessary to formulate this separately.

The border land on whose confines religious belief and philosophical scrutiny encounter each other is a region of doubts and differences. Here we may remark on the one hand the persistent refusal of popular sentiment to go farther or faster than it consistently can, on the other, the determination of leading minds to work out their own problems, and make known their solutions, even where the daring act may involve the forfeiture of life. The Greek public would not follow Socrates because it was not able to do so. He would philosophize against the interest of the ancient faiths, — his life paid the penalty of his devotion to truth. He died, but all mankind are his heirs. We might dwell long upon this point, which is one of great interest. I will only take time at present to say that if philosophy on the one hand seems to out-go the bounds of the prevailing religious persuasion, and

to stamp as irrational and illogical many notions and customs which are still dear to popular affection, she is also the vindicatrix of ideas truly religious, and, while she analyzes and explains the historic steps of the race in this direction, she upholds the true centre of religious and ethical life, the belief in the spiritual power and high destiny of man, and in the divineness not his own to which his own should correspond. Her pitiless logic works equally against the Bigot and the Sceptic. Its straight line will not depart to the right nor to the left,—“Seek ye first the kingdom of Heaven, and all things else shall be added unto you.”

A very important result of the application of a genuine philosophical method is the distinction which it enables the student to make between what is new and tentative in human thought and belief, and what is old and either established or set aside by the best wisdom of those who have gone before us. Certain phases of enthusiasm which crop out to-day,—for example the mediævalism which imprisons religion in rites, attitudes, and a host of superannuated conventionalities. If we are able to analyze this phase of opinion and sentiment, we shall find that it was justified by the intellectual limitations of ages long past, that it is most inappropriate to the enlightenment of the present, that to cherish and to cultivate it to-day is to put a fossil plant in the garden where living growths are needed. It is worse than useless.

The partial and for the most part fragmentary character of human acquirement makes it very important that there shall be established in the mind some sound standard of judgment to which each individual may refer the questions of what he knows, what he does not know, and what he cannot know. This standard or criterion will not be so established without some knowledge of philosophy in those who teach, corresponded to by those who learn. I will here mention a few technical terms which ought to belong to ordinary culture.

The terms “esoteric” and “exoteric” occur to me among these. They are derived from two Greek prepositions, *eis* or *es*, signifying into, and *ek* or *ex* signifying out from. These terms, if well considered, have a deep significance. All teaching is, in a way, exoteric—the teacher giving expression to what is in his own thought. Study is esoteric, because the student looks into a subject of which he has an imperfect knowledge, or none at all. Religious teaching, from immemorial times, has kept this division much in mind. The inwardness of

things can only be unfolded to those who are willing to study it, and at the same time able to master it. The masses of mankind have little love for any continued strain of intellectual labor. Hence, the important notions of religion have generally been presented to them in a form easily apprehensible, calculated to touch the sentiment of reverence and the impulse of hope, which are natural to all men. Those who are commissioned to impart these notions ought to have some knowledge of their historical and logical justification. They must go through some esoteric study of religion—this is called theology. Ordinary preaching and ordinary worship are exoteric. They deal necessarily with the outward aspects of religious life. Profound meditation, study, and prayer are esoteric. They seek the inner depths of thought and experience. Only the greatest minds are capable of so informing the outward utterance of their conviction with its interior fire as to weld a whole community into a new form of interpretation and belief. In the sermon on the Mount, Christ gave such a body of teaching to a multiform and heterogeneous assemblage of men, and what he gave then, obtains now.

The spiritual tyrannies of the world have grown out of the understanding of this distinction by the few, and the want of knowledge of it on the part of the many. The Egyptian priesthood had shows, sacrifices and processions for the common people, but for the adept, the wisdom in which Moses was educated, and through which he still educates us. The religion of Greece had its games and sacrifices, and its mysteries. Military Rome degenerates into a propitiation of good luck and a conjuration of misfortune. The great Oriental faiths, Brahmanism and Buddhism, accentuate the difference between the average believer and the religious devotee; and in the mediæval form of Christianity which still largely rules the world, the esoteric training is jealously reserved for the most acute intellects, and the greater number, priests as well as people, have only for their guidance the natural laws of reverence and the acquired rules of discipline.

I have ridden my two terms further than I meant to do, but I hope that they bring us to this conclusion, that while there is much that is true and beautiful in the apparent phenomena of religious consciousness, much that may strike and touch the careless passer-by, the true justification of religious doctrine cannot be known without profound and persevering study. The teaching of advanced Christianity is that

the laity should acquire enough of this deeper religious wisdom to enable them to judge whether their spiritual advisers have it or not.

I have heard a very accomplished Boston woman, in mature years, inquire the meaning of the terms just explained, esoteric and exoteric. I have heard a Massachusetts senator, one renowned for polite culture, remark that he had never been able to understand the significance of the words *objective* and *subjective*. And I once heard a celebrated advocate of Woman's Rights speak publicly of the "subjective condition" of Woman, meaning thereby her subject condition.

I remember too that a certain New York journal once sent one of its smart writers to report the meetings of the Summer School of Philosophy at Concord, Massachusetts. I saw one of these reports in which the writer, a lady, took Prof. William T. Harris to task for his use of metaphysical language which, be it said, never went beyond the actual need of the statement which he had in hand. The word "entelechy" seemed especially to have aroused the ire and the irony of this critic. "Why does he use expressions which everybody does not understand? If 'entelechy' means so and so, why does he not say so and so?" That is, why does a philosopher, in a school of philosophy, use a philosophical term? The question is more difficult to explain than to answer.

It is a pity too (oh! how great!) not to know where doctrines belong, both in time and in place. The sacrificial notions which still mingle so largely in religious teaching, where did they belong in thought? To a rude people, among whom the priests alone had intellectual training and insight. Where in time? To the world of two thousand years ago. Where in place to-day? To Thibet.

In view of the great difficulties of these studies, in view also of the waste and misuse of labor which often attends them, I hold it to be most important that the men and women who are especially critics of thought should meet from time to time to compare the results of their study and labor. The Radical Club which held monthly meetings in Boston between the years 1867 and 1880, was a very important step in this direction. The Summer School of Philosophy at Concord, Massachusetts, was another instance of this sort. I should very much recommend that, wherever two or three people have been led to feel a special interest in the science of speculative and critical thought, they should organize a little group for the open discussion of such points as may come up before them, and associate in this, not only the people

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